

THE
SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE
QUARTERLY

VOL. XXII

SEPTEMBER, 1941

No. 2

The Economics of the Total State

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A few years ago Professor Robert A. Brady described the "spirit and structure of German fascism" as that of "business as usual." What he meant by this faintly sinister phrase was that under totalitarianism business continues to be conducted for profit. In particular this statement of the case refers to the systematic destruction of trade unions and co-operatives in the totalitarian states, and of every organization by which workers and consumers undertake to oppose their organized strength to that of capitalists. Admirers of the Soviet Union would perhaps be quick to point out that in the U. S. S. R. unions at least have not been liquidated, and there were virtually no co-operatives in pre-revolutionary Russia. That is true. But no one would deny that in the U. S. S. R. the unions are completely dominated by the Communist Party and so are in effect an instrument of totalitarian control no less than the German "Labor Front."

Nevertheless totalitarianism presents a significant contrast to capitalist "business as usual." As it has been used in the United States that phrase has meant not only profits as usual (regardless of national defense), but it has also assumed that they would continue to go to the usual people. No doubt this expectation was entertained by the industrialists who supported the fascist regimes in Italy and Germany. But it has not been realized. Since Professor Brady's book was published Herr von Thyssen, the arch-symbol of business as usual, has passed out of the picture to be replaced by none other than Reich Marshal Goering. In this regard the situation in the U.S.S.R. is even more extreme. Thus the actuality of the totalitarian economy must be described in

some such formula as this: complete obliteration of all resistance to the domination of industry by management and the conquest of management by the masters of the state.

This situation has two corollaries of great importance to an attempt to read its significance. One is the tremendous gain in efficiency which results from the unification of control of industry and the state. Henry Clay once described business and politics as the operations of rival gangs by virtue of whose falling out honest men get their due. Honesty no longer enjoys this advantage in the totalitarian states. As Mr. Carl Dreher pointed out in his article entitled, "Why Hitler Wins," in *Harper's Magazine* for October, 1940, the efficiency of the totalitarian system is largely attributable to this circumstance. In Nazi Germany the managers of industry do not feel the American sense of loyalty to their stockholders to defer acceptance of war contracts until satisfactory profits have been assured. Industry is commanded by the same general staff and with the same peremptory authority and the same instant obedience as the army, and with the same result.

There is another respect, however, in which the totalitarian economy more closely resembles that of capitalism. For many years students of capitalism have been pointing out the dependence of the whole capitalist economy upon foreign expansion. That is, capitalism has been characterized by some sort of internal pressure for which relief has been found in the acquisition of "lebensraum," in the form of foreign markets for the dumping of surpluses of goods and capital which the domestic market has somehow failed to absorb. Furthermore the marines have played a part in this development. Trade and the flag have co-operated in what has long been known as "dollar diplomacy." The totalitarian diplomacy may differ widely from our own in its details, but this at least is obvious: in each of the totalitarian states as in every capitalist economy the domestic economic situation has been conceived to make expansion necessary and active measures have in fact been taken toward the achievement of what might well be called "totalitarian imperialism."

It is this aspect of the totalitarian economy which is perhaps of greatest importance for the attempt to read the significance of the so-called "new order." The unification of industrial society was inevitable in any case. As Mr. Dreher has pointed out, that was the moral of Veblen's castigation of "capitalist sabotage." Most economists would agree that so complicated and delicate an instrument as machine technology has now become cannot be made to operate under conditions of chronic

internecine warfare between rival gangs. We all deplore the brutality with which unification has been carried out in the totalitarian countries, but we also deplore the brutalities of our own capitalist past and present. The issue is not to be decided in terms of sweetness and light. What justifies the frictions of the industrial revolution is its outcome. The ideologists of the totalitarian state argue along similar lines that the frictions attending the transition to what we might call the one-gang economy are to be justified by the subsequent achievements of that economy.

In each of the totalitarian states the ultimate achievement of the new regime is conceived in terms of expansion, and in each the theory of expansion is singularly contradictory. Thus the Soviet Union finds itself impaled on the horns of the dilemma of world revolution. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" is of course conceived to be an instrument of transition to the communism of the future; but communism cannot be realized in Russia until it has been spread to all the rest of the world, and it cannot be spread to the rest of the world until it has been realized in Russia. That is, Stalinists and Trotskyites flatly contradict each other. A similar contradiction also appears in the ideologies of the fascist dictatorships between the theory of "total war" and the theory of the "new order." From the beginning fascist and nazi propagandists have taken a leaf from the pages of older German and Italian prophets of continuous war, such as von Treitschke and Machiavelli, and have accordingly proclaimed war to be the natural and permanent way of life of the heroic races. More recently, however, perhaps to forestall war-weariness, the spokesmen of these "aggressor nations" have announced that war is not an end in itself but is the means to the achievement of a new and revolutionary social order in Europe and the world.

Which of these theories contains the true meaning of the totalitarian war economy? Or is either one intelligible? Citizens of the democracies and especially students of "the simple and obvious system of natural liberty" are tempted to dismiss all such notions without further consideration. But there is in each an unmistakable echo of the dilemma of capitalism, the ideology of which has likewise seemed to its critics to be unintelligible. Consequently we are more likely to give totalitarian theory a sympathetic hearing if we consider it with reference to the paradoxes by which our own thinking is likewise plagued.

It is perhaps the most serious defect of capitalism that it fails to distribute mass consumer purchasing power in sufficient volume to

absorb the product of industry. Some students prefer to put the case the other way about, in terms of a level of prices too high for existing purchasing power; but this is of course only another way of describing the same condition. No capitalist nation has ever yet been able to maintain full employment either of capital funds or of man power. Consequently the export of capital and the emigration of the unemployed have come to be regarded as the normal process of capitalistic development. It is this process, of course, which has defined the need for colonies of which so much has been said in recent years. Since this need has been discussed in an atmosphere of war the need has usually been stated in terms of the raw materials which are the vital necessities of the industrial process. But except in time of war no nation has ever suffered industrial strangulation for lack of raw materials, and at no time has any industrial empire, even the British, ever controlled under its own flag all the materials required by its industrial system. The real need has always been for undeveloped regions to absorb the excess capital funds and man power of the industrial communities.

It is this need which the Nazi ideologists have characterized as "lebensraum." Both the "war economy" and the "new order" represent efforts to succeed where capitalism failed. War is of course tremendously efficient as a consumer. The German effort of re-armament which was set in motion immediately after Hitler came to power has indeed made the German economy hum. Hitler's challenge to Roosevelt in the matter of full employment was only too well justified, and though he said nothing on the subject of absorption of funds there can be no doubt that the expansion of war industries has been effective at this point also.

If it were possible to carry on war continuously, the problem would perhaps be solved. No economic depression has ever occurred while a war was going on. Hence the obvious way to defer the inevitable post-war depression is to defer the peace. But there are two difficulties which may make this impossible and may therefore nullify the achievements of the war economy. One is the fact that it takes two to make a war. Victorious armies run out of enemies and so find themselves confronted willy-nilly with the hazards of peace; and the other is the apparently ineradicable propensity of mankind to think of war as a means to an end and not as an end in itself. All the efforts of all the totalitarian ideologists have failed to make their subjects love war for itself. This failure is not unique, of course. Sooner or later "racial heroism" always peters out leaving "the white man's burden."

Capitalism has never advertised its dependence on the industrial frontier. The official justification for the niggardliness with which it has dispensed consumer purchasing power has always been the necessity for the accumulation of capital funds. Very little has been said about the necessity for dumping funds abroad. The presumption has always been that the sacrifice of the present consumption of the community was in the interest of the future enlargement of consumption by that community. Indeed it is only in recent years that students of economics have begun to note the qualifications which must be made to the traditional theory of capital accumulation. When the general public begins to comprehend the implications of capitalist imperialism it is very doubtful indeed if it will continue to submit to what we euphemistically call "forced saving." In similar fashion even the totalitarian ideologists have found themselves obliged to justify the sacrifices of war in terms of the delights of the peace that is to come. For all their sense of racial heroism with its mission to rule the earth, even the Germans have had to be told that they were going to the rescue of their down-trodden brothers in Czechoslovakia, saving Europe from the brutalities of the Poles, and now protecting the Balkan states from their prospective enslavement by the British. As the war goes on it seems to be necessary to give more and more emphasis to the prospect of final triumph over the plutocratic war-mongers of Great Britain. This bodes ill for the future of the war economy.

The "new order" also may be regarded as a sop, in which case it is further evidence of the weakness of the theory of total war; but it may also be regarded as a serious attempt to conceive the long-run future in totalitarian terms. As such it does not involve the abandonment of the heroic theory of racial dominance. Assuming the victory of German arms this theory visualizes Europe, if not the world, as a sphere of German influence subject to command and forced obedience of the Nazi hierarchy. It is also taken for granted that orders will be issued and arrangements made solely in the interest of the master race, with no nonsense about the brotherhood of man or the rights of subject peoples. The nazis have been commendably frank on this point. In their new order there is to be no British hypocrisy of the "white man's burden" sort. All the burdens are to be borne by the slave races.

As we learn both from nazi theorists and from the demonstration they have already given in the conquered countries, this happy solution—"total peace," so to speak—is to be effected in two ways. First, the major industries of the conquered peoples are to be seized and operated

by Germans, who are to occupy all positions of discretionary control as well as key technological posts, though subject labor will be employed. Needless to say, such industries will be conducted for the profit of their masters. Secondly, insofar as the lesser peoples are to be turned loose to shift for themselves, it is to be as agricultural economies somewhat along the lines of the colonial conceptions of seventeenth century mercantilism. Here again there is no hypocritical pretense that such a state of affairs will be advantageous to its victims. These lesser agricultural peoples are to be frankly exploited by the master race whose complete control of industry will mean irresistible power.

This prospect seems to be extremely attractive to the economically illiterate masses of the German people. Even in Germany, and after eight years of trumpet-sounding, there seems to be little positive enthusiasm for war; but there is vivid recollection of the sufferings of Germany under the Versailles treaty and a grim determination to reverse the roles. Since Versailles is now universally acknowledged to have been a mistake—Mr. Robert Morss Lovett said of it in 1919 that the Allies had missed no chance to insure their own future humiliation—this could be interpreted as meaning that the Germans are now determined to make the mistakes. For attractive as it is, the new order is an economic mirage.

This new order is only a new application of the familiar capitalistic practice of exploitation. The Germans expect to exploit subject peoples very much as the capitalist class has hitherto exploited the rest of the population. As an industrial community, conceived perhaps as the machineshop of the world, the German Reich will depend in the future even more than in the past upon imports especially of farm products, and since the agricultural communities which will supply these products will be political satellites it is to be expected that the Reich will get its foods and other raw materials on "favorable" terms. That is, it will get more wheat for less machinery than in the past. So long as this transaction is viewed exclusively in terms of the need for wheat it appears to be highly advantageous. But this is not the real difficulty and never was. Neither Germany nor any other industrial community ever suffered from the reluctance of agricultural communities to supply it with farm products. The difficulties by which international trade has in fact been plagued have been of quite the other sort, namely, reluctance on the part of the rest of the world to accept German products in payment for such exports. This difficulty has been general and perennial. Heckscher, writing on the mercantilism of the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries, called it "fear of goods." It is also known as the "need for markets." The characteristic form which trade barriers have taken throughout the whole modern period is that of tariff walls set up to exclude imports. Nowhere and at no time has any community suffered from any unwillingness on the side of its neighbors to part with exports.

The real need of the German economy is now [as it has always been] for markets. The "iron ring" by which Germany has been "hemmed in" has been composed of the tariff barriers set up by other nations and their colonies to exclude German manufactured goods. It is this ring which the Nazis now propose to pulverize, and they propose to do it by the ruthless exploitation of defeated peoples. But who is to buy the product of German industry? To the degree to which they are impoverished these subject peoples will of course be unable to do so. The French peasant can be robbed quite easily, but how can this transaction be made to serve the interests of German industry?

There is no answer to this question. The totalitarian new order is self-destructive precisely as capitalism is self-destructive. Both are power systems under which the consumption of the masses undergoes sharp restriction in the interest of what is presumed to be the greater eventual good of the whole community. The result in both cases is a great excess of productive capacity over domestic civilian consumption. In both cases, therefore, the inevitable further result is the effort to resolve the paradox by expansion. But since in a finite world the possibilities of expansion must be finite, this process is bound to end in collapse and disillusionment.

There is only one way in which the industrial system can be made to work, and that is in conjunction with a distributive system by which mass consumption can be made to keep pace with mass production. Neither the capitalist nor the totalitarian economy has as yet evolved such a distributive system. Is either one likely to do so, and which is the more likely? In attempting to find an answer to this, the ultimate economic question, we may as well face the fact that such a development is foreign to the character of capitalism no less than of totalitarianism. It may even be questioned whether an economy founded upon mass consumption would still be capitalism. Nevertheless there are grave differences of adaptability between the two systems.

However exploitative capitalism may be in effect, the capitalist system was not instituted and has not been maintained by armed force and organized terror. Its power has derived from an idea, the idea that

the physical progress of industry depends upon the accumulation of so-called capital funds. This idea has been freely endorsed by social philosophers and economic theorists and has penetrated the convictions of virtually the entire population. These facts certainly contain no assurance that capitalism may not break up in armed conflict between mutually hostile groups. If any considerable revolutionary party should emerge which is fired by the conviction that capitalism is maintained by armed force which must therefore be destroyed by force, it would of course evoke the resistance which it had assumed to exist. But such a conflict is not the inevitable logic of the present situation. A social system which expresses an idea is therefore susceptible to change with the development and modification of the idea which it expresses. There are many signs that such change is now going on. During the past generation or so and most especially during the past decade many students of economics have made quite substantial modifications in their ideas of capital accumulation. It is coming to be rather generally understood that the accumulation of funds seeking investment is a process which can be and has been carried too far. It is also one which can be modified so as to reduce excess capital accumulation and increase mass consumer purchasing power without any general liquidation of the existing social structure. A great many people including a surprising number of big business men have begun to appreciate the necessity and the possibility of such a change. Capitalism may of course still be engulfed in a world of violence, but so far as the character of this social order determines the course of our development it is not unreasonable to expect that its future modification will come about by the same process which produced it in the first place, that is by virtue of a growing appreciation by the whole community of the realities and necessities of the industrial system.

At this most vital point the case of the totalitarian economy is the precise opposite to that of capitalism. Having lived by the sword it has no alternative to going on that way except to perish. Nowhere has the totalitarian economy evolved by the process which produced capitalism. In every case it has been set up by armed force and maintained by organized terror. No doubt the totalitarian regimes once established have been able to marshal popular sentiment to their support. Such governments rest ultimately upon the consent of the governed no less than any other. But that is precisely the point. People will give their consent to monstrous cruelty and exploitation, but they will do so only in the frenzy which is induced by the sense of social crisis of the utmost

gravity. This means that the totalitarian economy must function in an atmosphere of perpetual crisis. All its economic controls stem from the one-gang system which can be maintained only by armed force and organized terror, and this system in turn can be maintained only by virtue of the general sense of the necessity for making supreme sacrifices for what is conceived to be the common good.

It is this dependence upon sacrifice in crisis which is the final nemesis of the totalitarian economy. We are frequently reminded that all the totalitarian regimes are revolutionary. Nazi ideologists still insist that their program is socialistic as well as national. The case of the U. S. S. R. differs from those of fascism and nazism in many important respects. Much that has been said here applies to the Soviet Union only with important reservations, and nowhere is the difference more pronounced than here. The Soviet Union is genuinely communistic in idea and principle. Its leaders are sincere and devoted disciples of Karl Marx and Lenin. Nevertheless the dictatorship of the proletariat is caught in the toils of dictatorship no less than its fellow totalitarians. The story is told of an American humanitarian who asked Stalin when he was going to stop killing people and received the reply, "When it is no longer necessary." But killing breeds killing and is therefore more and more necessary the longer it goes on. Total war is no solution of the industrial paradox which led to war; the new order of exploitation can never solve the paradox of plenty; and the economy of abundance is barred by the psychological necessities of terror.

The totalitarian economy is the economy of crisis. If it continues, the crisis must continue and eventuate in total crisis. If the crisis ends, totalitarianism is bound to end with it. No one can say which of these alternatives will eventuate or how it will come about. But we can say with the certainty of logic that the totalitarian economy is of its own character self-limiting. That it will live and grow as capitalism has done over a period measured by centuries is quite impossible.

Racial Origin of the Russian People*

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This paper gives a brief historical account of the backgrounds, origins, and ethnic composition of the Russian population. It summarizes authentic historical facts concerning the people who first populated Russia including the anthropological classifications of the contemporary population of that country, which have been developed by such eminent scholars as Rostovtzeff, Tschepourkovsky, Platonov, Vernadsky,¹ and others. The paper proposes also to establish the cultural and ethnic homogeneity of the Russians and to indicate their position among neighboring European and Eurasian peoples as a fact in the minds of American students.

I. PRE-SLAV INHABITANTS OF EUROPEAN RUSSIA.²

Throughout European Russia, but chiefly in the south near the Black Sea, there has been discovered a large number of barrows or tumuli, cemeteries or burial mounds, ruins of cities and fortifications, as well as all kinds of household and personal articles, such as vessels, coins, precious stones and ornaments. The oldest and most remarkable among these antiquities are those left behind by the Greeks and Scythians. We know, from the history of ancient Hellas, that numerous Greek colonies had been planted upon the northern shores of the Black Sea, chiefly near the mouths of large rivers and convenient bays. The best known among those colonies were: Olbia, near the estuary of the Bug River; Chersonesus, in the vicinity of modern Sebastopol; Panticapea, on the site of the city of Kertch (Kerch); Phanagoria, on the Taman Peninsula; and Tanais, at the mouth of the Don River.

In colonizing the shore of the Black Sea the Greeks did not extend their dominions to the interior of the country but succeeded nonetheless in subjecting the natives to their cultural influences and drawing them into a lively commercial intercourse. In exchange for Scythian grains and fish the Greeks gave textiles, wine, oil, and objects of luxury.

* This paper was read before The Oklahoma Academy of Science at the annual meeting, December 6, 1940, Norman, Oklahoma.

¹ All are residents of the United States except Platonov.

² S. F. Platonov, *A History of Russia*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929.

Trade had brought Greeks and natives into such close contact as to lead them in the course of time to the formation of a number of so-called "Helleno-Scythian" mixed settlements, while Panticapea even became an important state known as the Kingdom of the Bosphorus. Under the supremacy of the rulers of the Bosphorus several Greek cities along the coast were united, including the native tribes who dwelt near the sea in the region extending from the Crimea to the foothills of the Caucasus. The Kingdom of Bosphorus and the cities of Chersonesus and Olbia attained a high level of prosperity and have left behind a number of remarkable relics of the past. Metal and clay vases fashioned on Greek patterns were sometimes decorated with the designs of Scythians, exhibiting figures of the native inhabitants and native scenes. Gold ornaments and numerous other objects of Greek art of the most exquisite workmanship, brought to light by the excavations, are assembled at the Hermitage Museum of Leningrad and form the finest collection of its kind in the world. Two vases especially have become famous throughout the world. One, made of gold, was dug up in a tomb in the Kul-Oba mound near Kerch; the other, of silver, was found in the large mound in the vicinity of the small town of Nikopol, along the lower Dnieper, on the bank of Chertomlyka Creek. Both of these vases show groups of Scythians in their native costumes and armed with their peculiar weapons. We thus see Greek art accommodating itself to the tastes of the local "barbarians."

To us this fact is of importance for the reason that it enables us to become directly acquainted with the outward appearance of the Scythians with whom the Greeks had dealings on the shores of the Black Sea. In the figures of these Scythian warriors and horsemen skillfully engraved or drawn by the Greek masters, we clearly see typical features of the "Aryan race," and, most probably, its Iranian branch. One of the great Russian historians of the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, Professor Kluchevsky, had thought that Scythians were Slavs. Since then this idea has been discarded in favor of the theory of the Iranian origin of Scythians, although not to the exclusion of Slavs as coinhabitants of the same region of the northern shores of the Black Sea.

The Greek historian, Herodotus, who lived in the fifth century B. C., divided the Scythians into a great number of tribes, and distinguished between agricultural and nomadic Scythians. The former he placed in the steppe near the coast; the latter, farther north, along the middle course of the Dnieper. Agriculture was so highly developed by some of

the Scythians that they were in a position to export surplus grain to Greece. Herodotus was able to furnish interesting and reliable accounts of the Scythian tribes who were engaged in trade with the Greeks and the Nomads who lived nearer the sea. One important fact is to be remembered about this era; that is: *that agriculture was known, developed and practiced for commercial purposes by the inhabitants of the territory of present-day Russia as early as the fifth century B. C. This explains why the later Russian State of the early period of our era began its existence as an agricultural community.*

Another important feature of the early socio-economical structure of southern Russia was its urban character which according to Doctor M. I. Rostovtzeff had found its expression in the development of numerous commercial centers of the city type during the Greco-Scythian and Greco-Sarmatian periods and later was inherited by the Russian state of the ninth century A.D.

About the time of the birth of Christ the Scythians were displaced by Sarmatians, Alans, and Roxalans, who are spoken of as neighbors of the Greek settlements in the territory of present day southern Russia. It seems that they all belonged to the same Iranian stock as their Scythian forerunners. Having retreated, in course of time, before the invasion of other tribes, these Iranians were finally able to maintain themselves only in the Caucasus mountains, where their descendants are known today as Ossetins.

Germanic tribes known by the general name of Goths attempted during the second and third centuries A. D. to establish themselves on the north shores of the Black Sea, in the place of the former inhabitants—primarily in the southwest corner of this territory. About the middle of the fourth century a Goth chieftain, Hermanaric, united into one "Kingdom" not only all the Goths, but also the neighboring small tribes. During his reign the Goths suffered the invasion of the Huns and started, later on, upon their westward migrations. The Huns, gradually approaching the Don River from the east, attacked the Goths in 375 A.D., overthrew their kingdom, and drove them along to the West.

Hard pressed by the invaders, the Goths crossed the borders of the Roman Empire, while the Huns, now in possession of the Black Sea territory and roving back and forth between the Volga and the Danube, formed a vast state which included many tribes reduced to submission. Later, in the fifth century, the Huns pushed on still farther to the West. Yet after the death of their famous chieftain, Attila, the Huns, weak-

ened by internal dissension and uprisings of the tributary tribes, were flung back east of the Dnieper and their state came to an end.

In their place, however, there appeared from Asia in the sixth century a new Mongolian-Turc tribe, the Avars, who maintained themselves in power along the Black Sea and in the plains of Hungary until the close of the eighth century, oppressing the conquered European tribes (the Russian Slavs among them) until the Germans and Slavs were strong enough to overcome them. Their place was soon taken by other invaders from the East, other hordes of the same Mongolian-Turc race, or rather of Ural-Altai group, namely the Ugrians (Magyars) and Khazars. The Ugrians, after some migrations within southern Russia, finally settled in the territory of modern Hungary, while the Khazars founded a vast empire stretching from the Caucasus to the Volga and middle Dnieper. Still, even the establishment of the Khazar State failed to halt the migrations of the peoples from the east. The Khazars were followed into the steppes of southern Russia by other Asiatics of Turko-Tartar stock: Pecheniogs, Polovtsy, and, last of all (thirteenth century), the Tartars.

II. THE APPEARANCE OF THE SLAVS.³

The southern steppes of present-day Russia thus served during a period of nearly a thousand years as a battle ground for the invading races. Goths were followed by Huns; Huns by Avars; Avars by Ugrians and Khazars; Khazars by Pecheniogs; Pecheniogs by Polovtsy; and Polovtsy in turn gave way before the Tartars. Beginning with the Huns, wave after wave of Asiatic nomads poured into the northern sections of the Black Sea country through the passes of the Urals and Caucasus. These tribes kept near the seacoast, where the steppes were suitable to nomadic life; they did not go northward to the wooded belt of what is today central Russia. These forests afforded the local inhabitants, mostly Slavs and Finns, protection from utter ruin at the hands of the invaders.

Even earlier, during the Iranian period, the Slavs who lived in the territory of present-day southern Russia were apparently hard-pressed by the invaders. The subsequent domination of the northern Black Sea territory by the Goths was not to encourage the Slavs to stay there either. They retreated to the region of the Carpathian Mountains, which are usually considered as the original home of the Slavs in Europe; they were already known as "venedi" and "sclaveni" in the

³ The Slavs belong to the Indo-German group of peoples. See S. F. Platonov, *A History of Russia*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929.

times of the Goths and the Huns. Following the retreat of the latter, the Slavs spread out toward the South (Balkan Slavs), and the West (Czechs, Moravian Poles) and the East (Russian Slavs). The eastern branch of the Slavs made its appearance on the Dnieper probably as early as the seventh century A.D., pushing on to the North and East until it reached Lake Ilmen (near the Baltic Sea) and the upper course of the Oka River.

As they moved up the watershed of the Dnieper, the Slavs were brought into direct touch, along the northern and northeastern borders of their new settlements, with Finnish and Lithuanian tribes and Khazars.

The least civilized of all the neighbors of the Slavs were the Finns; they formed, it seems, a branch of the Ural-Altai group and were dolichocephals rather than brachycephals. They had lived within the northern and northeastern territory of the present-day Russia from time immemorial, subject occasionally to the successive cultural influences of the Scythians, Sarmatians, Goths, Lithuanians, and Slavs. They were divided into a great number of small tribes, and lived in small settlements in the forest regions of Russia. Widely scattered and lacking all internal organization, these small hunting tribes long remained in a state of primitive barbarism, leading a simple life, while *the eastern Slavs were already a people of agricultural and to some extent urban civilization at the time of their settlement in Russian territory*. The Russian Slavs felt themselves to be superior to their Finnish and Lithuanian neighbors. In this way it happened that, as the Slavs gradually overspread central and northern Russia, large tracts of Finnish territory came into their possession and a Russianized Finnish element was peaceably assimilated by the Slav population. The Russification of the Finns, begun during the eighth and ninth centuries, went on uninterruptedly and has continued down to our own day.

The Lithuanians form a distinct branch of the "Aryan race"; they had already lived in remote antiquity (second century A.D.) in the country where the Slavs were to meet them at a later period. The home of the Lithuanians at that time was in the water sheds of the Niemen and the Western Dvina Rivers, extending from the shores of the Baltic to the Pripiat River and the sources of the Dnieper and Volga.

Gradually retreating before the advancing Slavs, the Lithuanians concentrated along the Niemen and the Western Dvina, in the dense forests of the coastal regions, where they preserved their original mode of existence for a long time. In those places, however, where the Lith-

uanians came to be close neighbors of the Russians, they fell under Russian cultural influence.

While the Russian Slavs considered themselves superior to their Finnish and Lithuanian neighbors, with the Khazars, who probably belonged to the Ural-Altai group, it was a different matter. This people was firmly established in the Caucasus and the southern Russian steppes, and had turned to agriculture, winery, fishing, and commerce. As the trade routes from Europe to Asia lay across Khazar territory, the towns along these routes gained vast commercial importance and influence. Islamism and, especially, Judaism exercised a strong influence upon the Khazars. The Khan of the Khazars and his court professed the Jewish faith while Mohammedanism predominated among the common people. In the eighth century some Russian tribes were conquered by the Khazars, but they were not oppressed. Indeed this conquest made it easier for them to enter the markets of the Khazars and to engage in commercial dealings with the East. Numerous hoards of Arabian coins found at different places in Russia bear witness to the progress of this Eastern trade in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. In the tenth century, however, after the Khazars had exhausted their strength in a desperate struggle against a new nomadic invasion—that of Pecheniogs—the Russians themselves began to attack the Khazars and greatly contributed to their downfall.

Among the neighbors and fellow inhabitants of the Russian Slavs were the Varangians. It was said in Russia that these had lived "beyond the sea" whence they had come to the Slavs. The sea itself was called the Varangian Sea—the Baltic Sea today. The name Varangians was a general term applied to the Northmen who migrated from Scandinavia to other countries. They made their first appearance in the ninth century among the Slavonic tribes on the Volkhov and Dnieper Rivers, on the Black Sea and in Greece. They organized into "druzhas" (companies) ready to engage in trade or to enter the Russian and Greek military service, or to venture on any profitable undertaking. The Slavs and the Varangians carried on trade with Greeks and Arabians, and fought shoulder to shoulder against common foes. At times they quarreled and made war on each other; sometimes Varangians downed the Slavs, and at other times the Slavs got the upper hand and drove the Varangians back "beyond the sea" to their own country. Professor Arnold J. Toynbee in *A Study of History* speaks of the "Scandinavian Empire" in Russia. This is evidently greatly overdrawn: on the contrary, archeology and anthropology show that the Varan-

gians often fell under the influence of the Russian Slavs,⁴ moreover Professor G. Vernadsky⁵ states that the Varangians were comparatively few in number, certainly not over 100,000, and were rapidly absorbed by the Slavs.

Both before and after the ninth century the Russian Slavs (Eastern Slavs) mixed with the peoples of the Ural-Altai group: Turcs and Finns. The proportion of admixture of Ural-Altai blood in the Eastern Slavs cannot be estimated accurately. In any case, it was not sufficiently large to change substantially the racial characteristics of the Eastern Slavs. The Russian people, therefore, are basically a Slavonic race, divided at the present time into three branches: The Great Russians, comprising about 65 per cent, the Ukrainians or Little Russians, slightly more than 25 per cent, and the White Russians, slightly less than 10 per cent. This subdivision took place at an early time. The important reason for its persistence was that from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century the Russian people were torn politically into two parts: the eastern or the Moscow Tzardom, and the western under the domination of the Poles and the Lithuanians. The culture of the western part of the Russian territory—Little (Ukrainian) and White Russia—owes much to Polish influence, which likewise affected the language. Parts of Little and White Russia were annexed to the Moscow Tzardom in the middle of the seventeenth century and other parts were added only at the end of the eighteenth century, the time of the partition of Poland. Thus, not until the nineteenth century were almost all three branches of the Russian people united again in one state. In the twentieth century at the time of the Revolution Poland succeeded in annexing some parts of the Ukrainian and White Russian territory.⁶

The mongol type played no important part in the formation of the Russian people.⁷

III. PRINCIPAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL TYPES OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE ACCORDING TO DOCTOR E. M. TSCHÉPOURKOVSKY

1. *Riazan type.* Inhabits a compact group of nearly 16 districts in the eastern part of *Great Russia*. Mostly longheaded (cephalic index below 80), of middle stature, relatively dark. *The remainder of the old doli-*

⁴ E. M. Tschépourkovsky, *L'étude anthropologique coopérative de la population européenne*, 1938. "La crise d'analyse anthropologique," "Des types hypothétique à l'étude de la réalité, *Revue anthropologique polonaise*, Vol. X, 1936.

⁵ George Vernadsky, *A History of Russia*, Yale, 1930.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Tschépourkovsky, *Op. cit.*

chocephalic population which was spread all over Great Russia till the late "kourgan" (tumuli) period (9th-12th centuries). Contains a large admixture of the Finnish blood (dolichocephalic tribes like Mordva-Moksha). Is probably allied to the oldest "long-barrow" population of Britain.

2. *Valdai type.* Inhabits watersheds of Great Russia and forest swamps (*poliessia*) of *White Russia*, probably of Poland and Lithuania. Broadheaded (index about 83), blond, taller than the Riazan type. *Later comers, probably about the 12th century, under the pressure of Tartars who invaded steppes of the South.* In the East probably contains admixtures of the brachycephalic blond Finnish tribes (*Zyrians*). Is perhaps allied to the bronze age invaders of Great Britain ("round-barrow" type).

3. *Little Russian.* Broadheaded tall brunet akin to the *Alpine type* of Europe. *Latest comer from the Carpathian mountains in post-Tartar period.* On the rivers the same population as on watersheds. *The Little Russians (Ukrainians) resettled southern Russia* after the old Russian dolichocephalic population had been destroyed by the Mongol-Tartar conquerors during their domination there from about the middle of the twelfth century to the middle of the fifteenth. *Alpine type admixture.*

4. *River population* of Great Russia of mixed type. In certain localities (Novgorod, Mohilev) probably contains the remainders of the Scandinavian type (blond dolichocephals).

No distinctions in the traits of face exist between these types.

IV. ANTHROPOLOGICAL BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF PRESENT-DAY RUSSIA

The population of Russia according to the census of the year 1927 totaled 141,100,000 inhabitants of which there were:

Great Russians—77,700,000 or 55 per cent of the whole population.

Little Russians (Ukrainians)—27,500,000.

White Russians—4,350,000.

All Russians—109,550,000 or 78 per cent.

Other Slavs—1,550,000.

Non-Slavic Group—30,000,000—of which there were 1,044,000 Germans and 20,000,000 of the Ural-Altai group: Turks, Finns, etc.; what remains belongs to a large number of small peoples or rather tribes.

Note a substantial unity and uniformity of the population of Russia, of which 78 per cent belong to the Russian people.

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What Mining Does to Farming¹

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The economic importance of mineral production in the United States may be judged by comparison of the relative value of agricultural production and the value of all mineral production. In 25 states the value of minerals produced ranges from one-sixth to four times the value of all agricultural products. In the six South Central States the values of mineral production and agricultural production are nearly equal for the area.

TABLE 1.
VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL AND MINERAL PRODUCTION IN THE
SOUTHWESTERN STATES, 1932 TO 1938¹

Year	VALUE (In Millions of Dollars)				
	Total	Agricultural ²		Mineral	
		Amount	Per cent of Total	Amount	Per cent of Total
1932	\$1,587	\$ 857	54.0	\$ 730	46.0
1933	1,829	1,142	62.4	687	37.6
1934	2,145	1,186	55.3	959	44.7
1935	2,415	1,378	57.1	1,037	42.9
1936	2,824	1,538	54.5	1,286	45.5
1937	3,346	1,731	51.7	1,615	48.3
1938	2,901	1,493	51.5	1,408	48.5

SOURCE: "Gross Farm Income and Government Payments, 1936-1939," BAE—U. S. D. A.

"Statistics of Agriculture" and "Yearbook of Agriculture," U. S. D. A.

"Mineral Yearbook" Bureau of Mines, Department of Interior.

¹ States include Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Louisiana, Kansas, Arkansas.

² Agricultural Value as measured by gross farm income plus Government Payments.

Petroleum, including natural gas and gasoline, accounts for more than four-fifths of the total value of minerals produced in these states. In the order of their importance the next four ranking classes of minerals produced are: metallic minerals, 3.2 per cent,² rock materials, 2.6 per cent,³ sulphur, 2.7 per cent; coal, 1.3 per cent; and miscellaneous, 1.4 per cent.

¹ Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, Dallas, Texas, April 11-12, 1941.

² Includes zinc, copper, lead, gold, silver, and bauxite.

³ Includes cement, stone, sand and gravel, raw clay and clay products, and gypsum.

In Oklahoma, where the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has conducted a study of sub-surface properties on land use, an estimated five per cent of the total number of farms are interspersed with various classes of mineral operations. More significant, however, is an indication that over 75 per cent of the farms are influenced in varying degrees by the actual or possible presence of minerals.

Two classes of minerals, migratory⁴ and solid,⁵ have formed the basis for consideration of sub-surface property in this study. Migratory minerals include oil and gas, while solid minerals, important in Oklahoma, include coal, lead, zinc, asphalt, and gypsum. The extent of the influence of each mineral in a given class was determined in accordance with certain criteria or definitions describing the zones of influence believed to be common to most minerals in Oklahoma.

The terms used to describe the general delineated zones of influence are defined as follows:

- a. *Actual areas of sub-surface operations*—Areas where discovery, production, development, or abandonment is actually taking place.
- b. *Probable zone of development*—Areas in proximity to actual operations, where grounds exist for believing that sub-surface deposits may be present, but where proof has not been absolutely secured, or where known deposits have not been developed.
- c. *Potential zone of influence*—Areas in which there is or has been active leasing, royalty transactions, mineral deed transfers, and which are capable, from a geological structural standpoint, of having sub-surface deposits, but in which sufficient proof to establish probability has not been secured.

Actual areas of operations are comparatively easy to delimit, this being a matter of integration of existing mapped or unmapped data showing physical boundaries. The delineation of probable and potential zones was made after carefully studying maps and data which indicated areal concentration of leasing, royalty speculation, ownership, or other related land transfers indicating sub-surface property interests,

⁴ Migratory minerals are those which have the power of movement in the direction of decreased pressure. Because of their volatile nature they have a high degree of fluidity and are readily propelled by hydrostatic pressure or the pressure of gas or combinations of both. Richard T. Ely and George S. Wehrwein, *Land Economics*, (New York, The MacMillan Co., 1940) p. 399. Wilbur F. Cloud, *Petroleum Production*, (Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma Press, 1937,) pp. 26-45. Dorsey Hager, *Practical Oil Geology*, (New York, McGraw-Hill Co., 1938) pp. 1-35 and 322.

⁵ Solid minerals are those which possess stability and fixity. They withstand distortion and are relatively incapable of movement. W. L. Summers, *A Treatise on the Law of Oil and Gas*, (Kansas City, Vernon Law Book Co., 1938) pp. 1-4. H. Ries, *Economic Geology*, (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1930) p. 117. Joseph Le Conte, *Elements of Geology*, (New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1908) p. 88.

and limits of past and present prospecting. In conference with various collaborating agencies, tentative boundary lines were refined to prepare the preliminary map.

WHAT THE USE OF THIS METHOD UNCOVERS

An estimate indicates that land use for 38 million of the 44 million acres of land in Oklahoma may be influenced in varying degrees by sub-surface factors. This constitutes approximately seven-eighths of the land area of the state, the exceptions being approximately three counties in the northeastern part and other small scattered areas. Approximately one and one-half million acres are in zones of actual operations, roughly 12 million acres in the zones of probable development, and about 25 million acres in the zones of potential influence. Zones influenced exclusively by migratory minerals cover about 28 million acres, while those affected exclusively by solid minerals embrace $31\frac{1}{2}$ million acres; and areas where both classes occur account for nearly seven million acres.

It is estimated that 177,000 farms are located in these three zones of sub-surface property influence. Slightly more than 10,000 farms are interspersed among actual operating units; that is, adjacent to or dissected by strip coal mines, among producing oil wells, power plants, and gasoline plants, or adjacent to a coal mine or to lead-zinc tailing piles.

A study of census data reveals that zones of operation are characterized by a lower percentage of land in farms, a lower percentage of farm land in crops, smaller farms and a higher percentage of tenancy when compared with probable and potential zones.

TABLE 2.
PER CENT OF LAND IN FARMS, AVERAGE SIZE, PER CENT FARMLAND IN CROPS AND PER CENT TENANCY IN THE ZONES OF INFLUENCE,¹
OKLAHOMA.

Zones	Per cent of land in farms	Average size of farms	Per cent farmland in crops	Average of tenancy
Actual areas of operation.....	78.4	102	45.1	72.4
Probable.....	91.8	149	45.8	68.7
Potential.....	92.6	195	49.2	65.7

¹ United States Census of Agriculture for 1935.

SOURCE: See footnote 7.

Further analysis of 59 townships having 25 per cent or more of their area subjected to sub-surface operations, in comparison with 38 town-

ships of similar physiographic features, but having no mineral development, substantially confirms the above picture.⁶

A number of other facts have been brought to light in studying zones of sub-surface property influence and related information. They are:

1. Farmers in mineral areas work almost twice as many days off their farms as those in non-mineral areas.
2. In order to effect recognized land-use adjustments such as those indicated on problem area maps or maps of county land-use planning committees, sub-surface property should be considered.
3. The percentage of farm population not living on farms five years ago varies significantly in and between zones of influence.
4. The greatest number of cash tenants is found in the general areas exploited for sub-surface wealth.
5. In the lead-zinc area the demand for a place to live has raised farm rents 25 to 35 per cent, according to the Farm Security Supervisor. This source indicated that sub-surface activities have been an important causal factor in the demanding of cash rent.
6. The smallest proportion of equity of farmers in the farms they operate appears to be concentrated in the actual and probable zones of influence.
7. Preliminary results show the greatest proportion of corporately owned land to be in areas where mineral resources are or have been present.
8. The intent of land ownership, in both surface and sub-surface, is often for speculative rather than agricultural purposes. Examples of this are conveyed by agricultural planning groups who have stated:
 - a. "A number of farms are owned for speculative purposes and the owners are not interested in agricultural production or soil conservation."⁷
 - b. "Owners are more interested in royalties than crops."⁸
 - c. "Mineral possibilities or development on lands owned or held for speculative mineral values have perpetuated undesirable tenancy . . . small uneconomic units . . . and prevents transfers of land on a basis of agricultural value."⁹
 - d. "It is difficult for farmers or prospective agricultural land owners to purchase land in mineral areas. This is due very largely to the reason that . . . sub-surface value inflates the price of land to a point beyond economic ownership for agricultural purposes."¹⁰

⁶ James Salisbury, Jr., and L. A. Parcher, "Agriculture and Other Surface Land-Uses as Influenced by Mineral Developments," *Current Farm Economics*, Okla. Exp. Sta., Vol. 14, No. 1, Series 49, Feb. 1941. p. 18.

⁷ Work Program and Plans, Creek County Soil Conservation District Committee. (Mimeographed) p. 18.

⁸ From report in the "Daily Oklahoman," Oklahoma City, August 15, 1938. Statement made before the Tenancy Conference by Mr. Glen Dill, landowner and member of the Oklahoma Land Use Planning Committee.

⁹ Report of the Oklahoma Land Use Planning Committee on Sub-Surface Problems.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

9. The study in Oklahoma has brought to light pollution and physical damage aspects and legal aspects of sub-surface land utilization in its relation to surface land-use.

HOW DOES THIS AFFECT AREAS?

In order to illustrate more clearly the effects of sub-surface appropriation on local areas, it is desirable to trace through actual patterns displayed in various phases in the cycle of subsurface resource exploitation—that is, discovery, development, production with its declining stages, and abandonment.

DISCOVERY

One of the great geological basins in the United States, the Lemmon structure of North and South Dakota, is experiencing a concentrated leasing campaign. It is estimated that more than five million acres of land have been leased during the past year, this acreage being divided equally between the two States. Prices paid for leases are nominal, running from 10 cents to one dollar per acre per year, the average around 25 cents. It is reported that the tax situation of the individual farm plays a large part in the lease price, the lessee paying enough to clear up back taxes and pay current ones. The duration of most leases is 10 years.

Considerable attention is given by lease purchasers to surface and sub-surface ownership. In this area the United States owns some unentered homestead lands; four Indian reservations are in the area, some of this being under tribal ownership, and other being unrestricted Indian ownership; public school lands account for a significant part; the Rural Credit Department of one State owns a large block of about 450,000 acres (of which all but 75,000 acres are leased); and there are several large blocks of non-resident owned land. The fact that both States have practically no laws controlling the oil business or its operation is important in affecting developments.¹¹

From this point, the discovery phase of the cycle may enter a highly rampant "boom" period as a result of the uncovering of an oil gusher, or other valuable kinds of mineral deposits. A psychological condition is established, frequently bordering on mob hysteria. Everybody stops doing the normal things; rumors start accentuating the general excitement. Many individuals begin buying land, mineral leases or options on leases, or mineral rights. The less scrupulous find ready victims. Some

¹¹ *The Oil and Gas Journal*, "Leasing Campaign in Dakotas Foreshadows Development." Vol. 39, No. 29, Nov. 28, 1940, p. 23.

buy sub-surface property, realizing fully they are speculating. If farmers are not experienced in this sort of thing, they are likely to be bewildered by the number of offers and attempts to outbid the other fellow for his land or mineral rights. All this because geologists believe that the valuable mineral deposit will extend beyond the immediate vicinity of the discovery location; because some local Chamber of Commerce is sure it will; because the speculative individual thinks that the deposit will extend into the areas designated as probable by the geologist; and because the land-owner-farmer or mineral rights owner feels confident that the mineral is to be found under his land.

Sometimes all may be correct; and huge fortunes often come from these relatively small areas. It is, of course, inevitable that this psychic condition, this mental expectation of mineral wealth in areas other than those of actual production, should stimulate widespread speculation in surface and sub-surface property because of possible mineral values.

DEVELOPMENT

In a report on the effect of oil development, the Illinois Tax Commission has stated, "The social and economic consequences of this development are far reaching and the effects upon the activities of local governments in these areas have been by no means insignificant. The influx of laborers and other workers to the oil fields has increased the demands upon the local units for roads, schools, fire protection, police protection and other services. On the other hand, increased prosperity has been followed by a marked decrease in the relief burden; . . . Levies for building purposes appeared for three school districts in 1938 where there had been no such levy in earlier years."¹²

What the Illinois Tax Commission has discovered has been present in practically every new mineral field of consequence. While the development may bring an era of prosperity for a while, experience has shown that the "boom" may be followed by social and economic repercussions.

PRODUCTION

George Weber, a geologist, has mentioned certain economic factors about the east Texas oil field which is composed largely of five counties: Gregg, Rusk, Upshur, Smith, and Cherokee. This "going field" represents a zone of operation where the stage of production has

¹² The Illinois Tax Commission, "Property Taxation, 1936, 1937 and 1938," Vol. III, p. 6.

passed its peak. In 1939, these counties had an assessed valuation of 272 million dollars. Property used in direct connection with sub-surface operations accounted for 83 per cent of this amount. The total valuation was 435 per cent greater in 1939 than in 1930. In Gregg County, where most development took place, assessed valuations rose the phenomenal amount of 2,000 per cent from 1930 to 1939.

There was a population increase of 49 per cent in the five counties of the East-Texas oil fields. This increase was caused, to a large extent, by transient groups, laborers, and other people drawn to the area by the new development. Urban centers increased from three to eight times their original size.

Estimates by taxing authorities of Texas indicate that during the period 1930-1939 more than 118 million dollars were collected in federal, state, and local taxes for the area. It is estimated also that during the same period one-half billion dollars were paid to the sub-surface land owners, many of whom are or were farmers, in the form of royalties, lease rentals, and lease bonuses.

The study of school district data shows that in twelve representative districts in the East-Texas Oil Field, 82 per cent of the revenue collected comes from properties used directly in connection with sub-surface operations. In five of these districts over 90 per cent of the school revenue originated from this source.

This field is now starting into the declining phase of the cycle of operation. It is estimated that under existing conditions the probable remaining life of the field is approximately thirty years. If demand, such as the program for national defense, should call for increased production through more intensive methods, then the life of the area would be shortened materially. Likewise, technical difficulties encountered in the increasing amounts of salt water, and its disposal, are offering increasing problems. Increasing socio-economic problems also may be experienced from decreasing tax bases and residual population.¹⁸

ABANDONMENT

The Slick area of Oklahoma represents an extreme case of a decadent and abandoned mineral area. The municipality of Slick came into being in 1920. During the height of its "boom" in 1921, the total assessed valuation was one and one-quarter million dollars. By 1935, this had

¹⁸ George Weber, "East Texas Still Dominant Factor in Industry as Tenth Producing Year Ends," *The Oil and Gas Journal*, Vol. 39, No. 22, October 10, 1940, p. 38.

decreased by the astounding amount of 95 per cent. Personal property, which includes drilling equipment and machinery, pipeline plants, gasoline plants, etc., decreased by a total of 99.4 per cent, real estate by 92.2 per cent, and public utility property, 78.4 per cent.

In 1921 it was necessary to levy only 16 mills to care for expanded public service costs such as governmental purposes and maintenance, debt service, and building and other costs. The Slick consolidated school district also was included in this levy. By 1935, because of the decreased assessed valuations, it was necessary to levy 335.5 mills. One might wonder how such proportionately high taxes were paid. The answer is that they were not paid! The lowest tax delinquency since 1931 was 72 per cent in 1936. In 1930 the tax delinquency amounted to 87 per cent, and in 1931 it was exactly 100 per cent.

The unfortunate financial history of the Slick area reached a climax with the problem of bonded indebtedness. In 1922, Slick had a bonded indebtedness of only \$10 per \$100 of valuation. By 1935, for each \$100 of remaining assessed valuation, there was a bonded indebtedness of \$274.12. Not one dime has been paid on the principal or the interest since 1926. The total debt is now well over one-quarter million dollars, and the greater part constitutes a lien against the land.¹⁴

ARKANSAS-OKLAHOMA COAL AREA

An additional example of changes in land use resulting from sub-surface factors is evident in western Arkansas and eastern Oklahoma. The coal area is estimated to contain 350 square miles and includes eight counties in Arkansas and four in Oklahoma. Coal production in 1940 was valued at five and a quarter million dollars, one million dollars more than in 1939, and the effect of the less-smoke program was just becoming noticeable. Back of the revival is the demand for the semi-anthracite coal of this area created in St. Louis as a result of a program to improve the soot situation.

One factor which placed the Arkansas-Oklahoma area in a favorable position to supply the needs was a reduction in freight rates. This made it possible for this area to compete favorably with West Virginia areas, which are 400 miles farther from this market than those in Oklahoma and Arkansas.

How has this affected communities in the area? It has created many new jobs for miners, many of whom had turned to farming during de-

¹⁴ James Salisbury, Jr., "Land Utilization in Creek County, Oklahoma." Typewritten Report on file with the B.A.E. (1940).

pression years. Large numbers are now following a part-time farming-mining plan. Eventually, all local labor may work in the mines and agricultural pursuits may be abandoned.¹⁵

This, however, is not the only localized effect of the St. Louis soot removal program. Local areas in Illinois and Indiana, which have been furnishing soft coal for the St. Louis market, have experienced repercussions from the loss of their market. Many mines are faced with the problems of market adjustment. This may be viewed with satisfaction by farmers in the strip mining areas who feel that such mining was destroying valuable agricultural land.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the attendant problems of declining market, decadency, and possible abandonment may create serious problems of readjustment.

Thus, one relatively small change in the habits of the population of a single city has brought about changes of major proportions in sub-surface, and perhaps surface, land utilization patterns in several areas.

WHAT TYPES OF PROBLEMS RESULT FROM SUB-SURFACE EXPLOITATION

What has been said does not imply necessarily that all factors have been considered, or that the findings are to be accepted as final. However, to summarize research and observation, and as a means of indicating areal problems traceable to sub-surface exploitations, the following results are considered as reflecting in varying extents the influence of sub-surface factors:

1. Speculative land ownership, both sub-surface and surface seems to contribute to: (1) instability in tenancy and continuation of small uneconomic units in some localities; (2) part-time farm operations which create, in some instances, unbalanced competition for agricultural use of land; (3) non-agricultural or agricultural land-use which may not follow recognized farm management or conservation practices.¹⁷
2. Increasing local governmental costs and tax burdens result from the influx of population and rapid broadening of the tax base during the "boom" period. Subsequent decline and rapid abandonment of sub-surface properties create a condition of a heavy debt load and nothing with which to pay it. The surface land and agricultural operations are left to carry the load or the debt must be defaulted.

¹⁵ "A Venerable Industry Is Reborn," *The Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, Arkansas, February 9, 1941.

¹⁶ H. W. Hannah and Bert Vandervliet, "Effects of Strip Mining on Agricultural Areas in Illinois and Suggested Remedial Measures," *The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, Vol. XV, No. 3, p. 300. Charles L. Stewart, "Strategy in Protecting the Public's Interest in Land with Special Reference to Strip Mining," *The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, Vol. XV, No. 3, p. 312.

¹⁷ Creek County Soil Conservation Districts Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Creek County Land-Use Planning Report. p. 19b-5.

3. Problems of pollution, waste, and surface land damage are created. The Bureau of Mines, primarily interested in the technical phases of sub-surface utilization, points out that this problem is so acute in certain parts of the United States,¹⁸ "particularly in agricultural areas, that it is being treated as a long continuing research study."¹⁹ Wilhelm, Schmidt, and Devine have devoted considerable thought to the problem of disposal of salt water and oil effluent.²⁰ The Oklahoma Water Resources Division of the State Planning Board has collected some data which indicate the areal importance of this problem in Oklahoma,²¹ and some attention has been directed to strip coal mining problems.²² Aside from these, and a report on the pollution problem by the National Resources Committee,²³ little attention has been centered on the land economics aspects of pollution, waste, and surface land damage.
4. Legal aspects of sub-surface appropriation are associated with surface land-use. In the Southwestern States, basic legal principles have been established to cover most legal matters arising in connection with sub-surface operations. Closer study, however, indicates the existence of numerous legal maladjustments. These are often due to the ineffectiveness of existing measures. It may be due to the local interpretation of statutory measures coupled with jurisdictional questions. Many times it appears to be due to the absence of rulings from higher courts on the questions involved.

Questions arise concerning splitting of the fee and the separation of sub-surface from the surface, either in whole or in part. Legally, this is possible, but where the fee has been separated many unanswered questions are now coming before the courts, and as Dr. W. L. Summers has pointed out, "... legal problems have arisen where the interest of the surface owner is in conflict with the sub-surface owner."²⁴

5. Social and economic adjustments must be made by the residual population remaining after the mineral resources become depleted. As O. D. Duncan foresees, "these forces work fiercely and relentlessly, which forces much shifting of population from non-agricultural pursuits to farms."²⁵ Often the specialized worker, who received relatively high compensation and who had a

¹⁸ Ludwig Schmidt and C. J. Wilhelm, "Disposal of Petroleum Wastes on Oil-Producing Properties," R. I. 3394, Bureau of Mines, U. S. Department of Interior.

¹⁹ Ludwig Schmidt and John Devine, "The Disposal of Oil Field Brines," R. I. 2945, Bureau of Mines, U. S. Department of Interior.

²⁰ Messrs. Wilhelm, Schmidt, and Devine have completed several studies on pollution and damage problems in addition to the above.

²¹ Report of the Water Resources Division, 1937-1939, Oklahoma State Planning Board, pp. 26-27.

²² Albert L. Toenges and Robert L. Anderson; "Some Aspects of Strip Mining of Bituminous Coal in Central and South Central States," I. C. 6959, Bureau of Mines, U. S. Department of Interior. Albert L. Toenges, "Reclamation of Strip Coal Land," R. I. 3440, Bureau of Mines, U. S. Department of Interior.

²³ National Resources Committee, "Water Pollution in the United States."

²⁴ Dr. Summers' interpretation of this problem was solicited. In answer to the question he made these statements in a communication to the author.

²⁵ Otis Durant Duncan, "The Theory and Consequences of Mobility of Farm Population," Oklahoma Experiment Station Circular, No. 88, p. 12.

comparatively high plane of living, finds it difficult to make this adjustment, and continues to demand public services commensurate with former levels.

It should be recognized that sub-surface use in many areas is, perhaps, the most economic use of the land, and that sub-surface exploitation necessarily does not create a bad situation. However, we are now becoming conscious that conflicts may arise between sub-surface and surface land utilization; that the areas affected are larger than previously recognized, and that problems resulting from exploitation may be severe when they do occur. Furthermore, this influence may, and often does, extend far beyond the locality of the actual removal of the mineral from its sub-surface reservoir.

Further research is needed before the inter-relationships of sub-surface and surface land utilization can be understood more thoroughly. Local problems, interpretations, and reactions can and are being expressed through the State and County Land Use Planning Committees; and desirable action on this nationwide problem is being promoted.

Periodic Income and Inventory Valuation

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When all assets are converted into cash and all liabilities are discharged, the determination of profit for a business venture is comparatively easy. Profit reporting only at the termination of the enterprise is, unfortunately, not adequate for the needs of investors, creditors, prospective owners, and others who wish to know from time to time how the operations of a business are coming along. The determination of income for these interim reports is the heart of accounting theory.

Accountants usually take it as fundamental that profits should be reported as the profit-making contributions of the enterprise are made, that is, as the services (positive or negative) of the firm are rendered. Since it is practically impossible to measure the entrepreneurial service directly, practitioners have devised the indirect approach which is in use today—the matching of revenues and expired costs (expenses) with respect to definite time intervals. Mr. Littleton has expressed this point clearly, "Net income then is shaped, as it were, by the interaction of the blades of a pair of shears—revenue as one, cost as the other."¹ The practical income problem, therefore, can be broken down into these two components: (1) the selection of an event or events for the recognition of new asset values (revenues), and (2) the adoption of rational methods for the allocation of costs between the various reporting periods. The residual figures resulting from the matching of these determinants is the accountant's approximation of periodic net income. To the academic accountant the income figure is a monetary expression of the value added to the enterprise through the contributions of the unrecorded factors of production. The further problem of reclassifying the reported income figure according to entrepreneurial return, economic rents, interest on investment, and so on, may well be left to the economist, who is familiar with the imputation process. However, one further observation is desirable. The accountant's reported income, or profit, varies inversely with the number of items which are considered costs, and the business analyst should be aware

¹ A. C. Littleton, "Business Profits as a Legal Basis for Dividends" *Harvard Business Review*, October, 1937, p. 58.

that for each cost inclusion there is an implied definition of the accounting entity for which the profit is being reported.

REVENUE RECOGNITION:

The problem of revenue recognition may also be broken into two, more or less, independent problems: first, how are revenues to be measured? and, second, when are the new values to be recognized? It is assumed here that the volume of revenues is measured by the cash value of the assets received, but the time feature cannot be disposed of so quickly. Should the increases be recorded when they are validated by cash receipts, by a claim enforceable at law, or by the estimation of the management that certain facilities which are held by the firm have increased in potential service? Mr. Paton has expressed both extremes: "Cash is the asset *excellent*. The receipt of cash for product, consequently, furnishes the ultimate test of revenue realization."² Again, "The liberal view that, ideally, all bona fide value changes in direction, from whatever cause, should be reflected in the accounts has been adopted without argument."³ While it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss fully the merits of the relative theories of revenue recognition, it should be pointed out that each method of inventory valuation implies a definite stand on the revenue question; that is to say, the allocation of costs and the recognition of income are not completely independent.

COST EXPIRATION:

Any expenditure involving groups external to the entity and resulting in the acquisition of possible services may be called "cost." The actual services to be received from a property may be greater or less than the cost figure, but the accounting system is designed to record the items initially at their cost and to consider any surplus or deficit of services as resulting from entrepreneurship—an unrecorded factor of production whose contributions are reflected in the net income figures. It is obvious that some expenditures result in properties which yield services in more than one period, and it appears reasonable to assume that these costs should be written to the periods in proportion to the services rendered during each interval.

The inventory method of cost allocation attaches certain costs to the units of stock and distributes the cost figures as the units of inventory

² W. A. Paton, *Accounting Theory*, p. 444.

³ *Ibid*, p. vii.

move out of the business and add their bit to the revenue stream. In general, this procedure is acceptable when price levels are not changing rapidly and demand conditions are relatively stable. However, there are many problems in connection with this assumption; for example, what about obsolete goods? how do replacement costs enter? should the rule be applied to each unit of stock or to the stock in its entirety? Some of these questions and others may be partially answered through a discussion of the specific methods of inventory pricing and an investigation of the assumptions underlying them.

SPECIFIC-UNIT COST:

It has been pointed out that the determination of profit for an enterprise at liquidation is comparatively easy, *i. e.*, when the cycle of business is completed and returns to the cash stage, an accounting for operations is not difficult. In searching for a method of finding periodic income it, no doubt, seemed sensible to consider each unit of inventory as a separate venture and to let the summation of the profits from the *completed* buying-holding-processing-selling cycles represent the gross profit for the period.⁴ Many accountants assume without question that, when ascertainable, specific-unit cost should be used, but, as a matter of fact, there are some rather serious objections to this procedure. First, if the income figure is to reflect the contributions of the enterprise, it seems rather foolish to recognize value added only upon the disposal of units, particularly when it is clear that some of the services contributed were made in judicious purchasing, careful supervision of processing costs, and intelligent combination of production factors. Second, this hypothesis obviously depends on the law of large numbers for validity, and this "averaging out" process is ineffective with regard to the first and last periods and for long-term construction work. Third, by selecting the units with care the management may manipulate the reported income rather extensively.

MARKET AND NET SELLING PRICE:

The pricing of inventories at current replacement price (market) is an attempt to reflect losses and gains before the sale of the physical units. As long as replacement costs move parallel with selling prices, valuation at current market recognizes increased or decreased revenue possibilities rather accurately. Receipt of an asset is not necessary for recognition—reference to external markets is sufficient. Valuation at net

⁴ See for example, Stephen Gilman, *Accounting Concepts of Profit*, (New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1939), p. 471.

selling price, less expected costs to be incurred, goes one step further and recognizes, not only the results of careful buying and holding, but other contributions of the firm as well. In fact, it has a tendency to go too far and recognize services of the firm with regard to finishing and selling before these services have been added. Both of these methods tend to yield more fluctuating profit figures than the orthodox cost methods.

COST OR MARKET, WHICHEVER IS LOWER:

This procedure is not, contrary to some statements, "completely illogical." The cost or market rule is a specific application of the more general accounting principle to the effect that it is desirable to recognize losses when they are ascertained to be present and to defer recognition of gains until point of sale. Many accountants, who hold to a strict cost valuation and strongly condemn cost or market, maintain, however, that inventories should be written down for damaged, obsolete, and other goods which can not be sold except at a sacrifice. As long as replacement costs and selling prices move parallel, this pricing method provides for decreased revenue possibilities automatically. It substitutes a rule, imperfect to be sure, for the arbitrary judgment of the managers as to the amount of inventory writedown. The outstanding objection to cost or market is a practical difficulty—that is, the tremendous task of ascertaining a reasonably correct valuation figure.

NORMAL-STOCK METHODS:

Income is a metaphysical concept and any definition must have an arbitrary flavor. Business men, in general, probably associate income with the amount of disposable funds which are made available from operations. Mr. Hicks, an outstanding exponent of modern economic theory states, "The purpose of income calculations in practical affairs is to give people an indication of the amount which they can consume without impoverishing themselves."⁵ Furthermore, various institutions, notably the courts, have tended to foster the feeling that profit should be a disposable surplus. Mr. Walker has expressed this point: "... the conclusion seems to be that net income to be reported as the basis for possible distribution should be limited to that share of bookkeeping return which is appropriable and consumable."⁶ Why is it, the defenders of normal-stock methods ask, that we define income as the net increase in asset valuations due to operations when it is perfectly obvi-

⁵ J. R. Hicks, *Value and Capital*, (Oxford University Press, London, 1939), p. 172.

⁶ R. G. Walker, "The Base-stock Principle in Income Accounting," *Harvard Business Review*, October, 1936, p. 85.

ous that many of these increases are not, and never will be, available for distribution and actually cannot be realized by a firm which contemplates continued operation? According to the advocates of normal-stock, the profit cycle is completed only when a new article has been purchased to replace the one sold—profit is to be measured by matching current replacement costs with revenues. Certainly there is no *a priori* reason why income should be defined in the orthodox accounting manner, and there is considerable evidence that the more level income reporting resulting from the use of normal-stock methods would lead to better business conditions. First, because if less profits are reported on the upswing of a cycle, business men, seeing higher costs, are not so strongly tempted to invest in plant and equipment. Also when the smaller losses are reported in periods of depression, the business man is not so pessimistic, and therefore more likely to invest while costs of construction are lower. Second, the cumulative action of the business men themselves, investing more on the downswing of the cycle and investing less on the upswing, would tend to reduce the amplitude of the cycle itself. Furthermore, as pointed out by Mr. McCowen, the use of base-stock methods may well lead to more flexible pricing, a further effect which probably reduces cyclical fluctuations.⁷

In conclusion, then, periodic business income is determined by the matching of revenues and expired costs as to periods. However, the two determinants are not independent, since the selection of an inventory pricing method implies a given theory of income recognition. To be specific:

1. Pricing at market recognizes profit as soon as value increases can be ascertained by reference to external prices.
2. Pricing at cost or market, whichever is lower, recognizes losses when they are ascertainable with reasonable certainty, but denies recognition of gains until later events.
3. Normal-stock methods recognize no profit until the proceeds have been re-applied to replace the depleted stocks; that is, current replacement costs are matched with current revenues.

The ultimate judgment and appraisal of these methods cannot be made by reference to such vague concepts as "true profits," "distortion," and other question-begging terms. These procedures must be judged by evaluating their probable consequences, and this appraisal of expected consequences takes us beyond the sphere of accounting proper into the realms of welfare economics, psychology, and the philosophy of social values.

⁷ George B. McCowen, "Replacement Costs of Goods Sold," *The Accounting Review*, September, 1937, p. 270.

The Social Effects of Inventions

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Our concern is only with established inventions and their social effects. We are not concerned with predicting future possible inventions and then speculating about their possible social effects. Some attempts have been made to study the prediction of inventions.¹

By invention is meant the creation or the discovery of a new culture trait out of the existing cultural elements. It is "the technic process by which man modifies his relationship to some phase of his environment."² It consists of a contrivance of that which did not before exist in the same form, although most of the constituent elements of the invention were there.

Types of Inventions. Inventions can be classified into three categories: (1) in accordance with the degree of influence they exert after they occur; (2) in accordance with invention-complexes; (3) in accordance with the fields in which they occur.

Under (1) there are two sub-types of inventions: major and minor. By a major invention is meant the creation and appearance of the qualitatively and significantly new which could be considered revolutionary when compared to any part of the cumulative series of traits that took part in the development of this invention. The automobile, consisting of such inventions as the gasoline motor, the steering gear, the isolation of gasoline, could be considered a major invention.

By minor inventions are meant the improvements that usually occur after a major invention. Differently shaped automobile bodies, steel tops, easier gear-shift, are illustrations of minor inventions. A minor invention is also one that does not lead to any or many subsequent improvements, such as, for example, the shoe-lace.

¹ National Resources Committee, "Technological Trends and National Policy," June, 1937, p. 15; F. S. Chapin, *Cultural Change*, (New York: Century Co.), 1928; Alice Davis, "Technicways in American Civilization," *Social Forces*, Vol. 18, No. 3, p. 317 ff.

² L. L. Bernard, "Invention and Social Progress," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 29, p. 20.

Under (2) is meant the cluster of inventions that tend to be related to each other in so far as several different inventions converge to bring about a pattern or complex of inventions.³ The automobile complex consists of many cooperating inventions such as the gasoline motor, the gasoline station, the hard-surfaced roads, vulcanized rubber, and so on.

Under (3) are considered mechanical, social, and method inventions. By mechanical invention is meant the creation of a new material or technological implement or tool. "It is a process by which, normally, the organism which directs the machine or device invented—not necessarily the inventor—employs natural forces to secure a better, that is, usually a more rapid and economical and more accurate adjustment to his physical environment."⁴

By social invention is meant an invention in the non-mechanical realm. Social inventions consist of the creation of new relationships between the individual and the group and between groups, by the employment of social forces and social situations. Social inventions have to do with social organization. In social inventions man manipulates man; in mechanical invention, man manipulates nature. Examples of social inventions are old-age pensions, and higher education for women. There are many social inventions that depend upon prior mechanical inventions, as, for example, the trailer camp. A social invention that does not, is the city-manager plan. There are mechanical inventions that often depend on prior social inventions, as bombing planes (mechanical) depend on war (social).

By method invention is meant the "abstract and symbolic thought inventions of man, culminating in his scientific formulas and laws and principles, with which he constructs inventions to control his physical and social worlds."⁵ For the purposes of this paper, method inventions will be included under social inventions by extending the definition of social inventions to include all non-mechanical inventions.

Types of social effects. By an effect is meant the result that follows when a "minimum totality of conditions each of which is indispensable and all of which are together just sufficient to bring about the result."⁶ By social effects of inventions, therefore, are meant those changes in

³ The writer is indebted to W. F. Ogburn for these concepts of types of inventions.

⁴ L. L. Bernard, *op cit.*, p. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶ A. B. Wolfe, *Essentials of Scientific Method*. (New York: Macmillan Co.) p. 109.

society that take place as a result of, and are indispensable to, specific inventions. At this point lies the crux of the problem dealing with the causal nexus between inventions and their social effects. Some thinkers have questioned the existence of a causal order even in the exact sciences and have reduced causation to correlation. Still others have relegated causation to mere recurrence of events or laws of nature. However, if we were to draw on the consensus of opinion for the meaning of the causal, we should say that causality consists of discovering the invariable order existing between various sorts of elements or factors, "The specific nature of this order will vary with the nature of the subject matter and the purpose of the inquiry."⁷ Thus there arises the claim that social causation because of its peculiar subject matter is different from physical causation, that though human nature is always responsive to environment, "how it responds may depend on its own creative character as well as the environment which it in part creates,"⁸ and that because of the unpredictable, not externally observable nature of this creative and volitional aspect of human nature, it becomes futile and fallacious to search for "social effects of inventions." Rather social effects are to be searched for in the changing aspects of human nature, since it is this latter that "causes the effects."

While this is true, it does not break down the causal relations between inventions and social changes. Although human nature, with all its motivations, attitudes, and desires, must first change before social change becomes possible and apparent, we shall consider these "inner" changes, when occurring, as effects of inventions too. Although these are not so obvious and capable of discernment, the personal responses, as effects, may be studied, too. It will be pointed out later that social response is one of our classified effects of inventions. The problem of cause and effect is a purely logical and metaphysical one, rather than one specifically and peculiarly characteristic to the problem at hand, that is, the laws of logic dictate when causal relations exist. They are abstract, external, and applicable to all fields of knowledge.

Before classifying the types of effects we can posit the truism, that for an invention to have a significant effect on society, the "new creation" must be diffused and accepted. However, one may be able to

⁷ M. R. Cohen and E. K. Nagel, *An Introduction to Logic and Scientific Method*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.) 1934, p. 248.

⁸ R. M. MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Changes*, (New York: Farrar and Rinehart) 1936, p. 500.

account for an effect also, when an invention does not spread. The resistance to innovations may result in a conservative, status-quo outlook. For example, the resistance to the woman suffrage movement awakened a militant opposition to this invention. At the same time, the opposition awakened and enlisted more vigorous aggression on the part of the suffragettes. Thus, while the invention was in the process of becoming diffused, there were social effects apparent as manifestations of strife and conflict. But conflict is a transient affair, which becomes resolved into a form of accommodative behavior.

This transient stage in the diffusion of an invention may last over a long period of time. And the effects of the invention, while it is clamoring for acceptance may take on very concrete and meaningful manifestations. It can influence human behavior and affect social institutions. An example of this was the suffrage movement before the voting power was legally granted to women. Women went to extremes in their behavior;—they chained themselves to lamp posts; their dress became more suitable to parading.

These effects might be called *transient* effects, by which is meant the social results springing from the creation and introduction of a new invention while it is in the process of diffusion and acceptance.

Although the illustration of the presence of transient effects was selected from social inventions, similar effects may follow mechanical inventions. The resistance to the Rust cotton-picking machine has awakened an intense social conscience in regard to the group which its use will affect. The Rust machine therefore, may affect society (before it is put into operation on a large scale) by guiding the cotton pickers to new occupations. The social response may be a form of this transient effect. Another illustration is the large advertising campaign conducted by the musicians against "canned music" at the inception of talking motion pictures.

Now, the *permanent* effects of inventions may or may not duplicate the transient effects. Women no longer chain themselves to lamp posts. The invention of woman suffrage is already diffused and accepted. The permanent effects may be thought of as *temporal, qualitative, and quantitative*.

Some permanent effects may be distinguished by their endurance. The effects of the automobile are permanent. But while people will probably do more and more traveling, the relation between the auto-

mobile and gangster operations are less permanent. Thus there is a temporal difference in this instance.

Permanent effects can be differentiated qualitatively by (1) the kinds of social phenomena affected (the automobile affects the church; the screw-driver does not), and (2) by the kinds of adjustments to the inventions (the radio tends to bring the family together; the automobile does not).

Permanent effects can be treated quantitatively, by considering the number of social phenomena and the extent of each phenomenon affected; the number of institutions affected; the number of adjustments made; the number of people and the number of groups affected.

Under each of the above categories of effects there might be included the concept of primary and derivative effects.⁹ By primary effects are meant the fields in which an invention tends to bring about immediate changes. By derivative effects are meant the changes that take place in a series of events similar to the links of a chain. For example, there are labor-saving devices invented, like the new electric eye, which will affect labor more directly and more immediately than it will affect health, although it is conceivable for it to make for better school-room lighting, which would in turn preserve and produce less strain on the eyes of the students. Thus, effects might be classified as a subtype in any one of the above categories, in accordance with their primary or derivative characteristics.

Methods for studying the social effects. The writer recognizes the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of precisely isolating methods in the study of the social effects of inventions. Nor does the writer propose to know what criteria to set up for a definition of method. The "methods" employed in the social sciences are so particularistic and numerous, that it would be impossible to tabulate them. To distinguish method as the logical process of inference from the often-suggested term "technique" as the procedure undergone in the collection, gathering, and manipulation of data prior to the processes of inference, might help to lead to a conceptual clarification. But this distinction becomes spurious and meaningless when considered pragmatically, since method and technique are inextricably intertwined and interrelated. It is proposed, therefore, to define method as the procedure involved in attempting to achieve the aim in mind, or to solve a particular problem, that is, what one actually does in trying to get at the social effects of inventions.

⁹ The writer is indebted to Dr. W. F. Ogburn for this concept.

The study of the effects of inventions may be approached in three ways. One invention may be selected and its effects traced; a cluster of cooperating, related inventions,—as electrical inventions, inventions of communication, and so on,—may be selected and their effects traced as a body; or, a community or region may be selected as a focal point and a comparative study made of the region before and after various inventions made their appearance in the community. For the purpose of this paper, the writer will keep in mind the methods for tracing the effects of a "one" invention.

Rational method. The first step consists of a theoretical-rational enumeration of all the possible relevant connections that exist between the invention and society. The researcher's ability to enumerate the possible connections comes from what might be called his "empirical wisdom" or what Herbart referred to as "apperception mass." "In order to state some obscurely felt difficulty in the form of a determinate problem, we must be able to pick out, on the basis of previous knowledge, certain elements in the subject matter as significant A problem cannot even be stated unless we are somewhat familiar with the subject matter in which we discover the problem."¹⁰ Thus we formulate tentative explanations as suggested by the subject matter and by our previous knowledge. These tentative explanations are our hypotheses. Thus W. F. Ogburn and S. C. Gilfillan were able to enumerate 150 possible social effects of the radio.¹¹ The writer has been able to collect 28 general fields (business, education, employment, and so on) affected by the invention of the elevator. These tentative hypotheses as the first steps in the description of the effects of inventions, are accomplished by what may be called the rational process or method.

Method of agreement and empirical verification. This method consists of an inductive search for the presence of the particular invention in the field tentatively held to be affected. Thus, empirical evidence of the presence of the invention,—for example, tall apartment houses in urban centers,—is needed to verify the tentative hypothesis that tall houses lead to an urban way of life. Here investigations become necessary for the establishment of the extent of representation of tall houses in urban centers. Various sources may be consulted for this purpose. The sources will depend upon the invention. Other inventions will point to other sources. The theory back of this empirical verification of the presence of the invention is that "if several instances of the

¹⁰ M. R. Cohen and E. K. Nagel, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹¹ *Recent Social Trends*, Vol. I, p. 156.

occurrence of a phenomenon have one relevant antecedent in common, then that common antecedent is a condition of that phenomenon."¹² Thus, we examine the various urban centers for the common factor. We may note that different cities differ in many ways: in climate, in lay-out, and in sex-ratio. We note also, that there are tall apartment houses present. We conclude that tall apartment houses are a condition of urban centers. This is not to say that tall apartment-buildings caused urban centers, for it is obvious that other factors enter here into production of urban centers and urban life. There may be a plurality of causes involved in producing the effect. At any rate, for an invention *to be able* to bring about a social phenomenon, the invention must at least be present in all the instances illustrative of that phenomenon.

Method of controlled group. This method is based on the idea that "if an instance in which the phenomenon under investigation occurs, and an instance in which it does not occur, have every circumstance in common save one, that one occurring in the former; the circumstances in which along the two instances differ, is the effect, or the cause, or an indispensable part of the cause, of the phenomenon."¹³ If one can gather the factors relevant¹⁴ to a particular situation and find that in all instances the omission of one factor or invention makes a difference in the situation, we can consider the invention or factor responsible for the difference. It was through the employment of this method that the writer was able to ascertain the influence of living in tall apartment houses upon the size of families.

Case-study and personal interview method. This method may be used to back up our findings by the controlled-group method. In social data there is meaningful relevance as well as causal relevance. If we can find evidence from the utterances of people that they do not think it advisable to rear children in tall apartment houses, this is plausible and valid evidence of the influence of tall apartment houses on the size of the family. Enough cases should be interviewed so that the random collection of additional cases will not change the conclusion.

The historical and weight of evidence method. Sometimes this method may be used in discovering the effect of an invention or group of inventions. The work of the historian is the examination of remains and

¹² A. B. Wolfe, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹³ J. S. Mill, *A System of Logic*, Vol. I. p. 452.

¹⁴ The writer recognizes that the question of relevance may present a different problem, especially in social phenomena where a factor may be complex and thus conceal its composition.

testimony leading to the conclusions concerning the past. Thus he exhausts all materials relevant to his objective.

Gathering similar historical evidence of the invention and development of the six-shooter, of the windmill, and of barbed-wire, Webb describes the development of the Great Plains as due to these three inventions.¹⁵ Questions may arise as to the other factors which might have been responsible for the settlement of the Great Plains, such as over-population in the East, or subsidies given for settlement in the Plains. The question then resolves itself into what may be considered the most important factor or factors.

This brings us to the idea closely allied with the historical method,—that is, *the weight of evidence*. It is true that the evidence that the historian gathers for the past is never complete and conclusive, but it is possible for this evidence to have the character of yielding "proof beyond a reasonable doubt." The nature of the evidence may be such that the historian's conclusions are probable in regard to it, or the testimony or weight of evidence may establish "proof beyond a reasonable doubt." By preponderance of evidence is meant that "a proposition is established simply with a probability of over one-half."¹⁶ By proof beyond a reasonable doubt is meant "a degree of probability differing from certainty by so little, that anyone who acts upon that difference would be regarded as unreasonable."¹⁷

The logical difficulty of this method is obvious. But for practical purposes it is a worthwhile and helpful tool which, like any other tool, always requires further refinement. The writer has found this method helpful in the study of social effects of past inventions. It is a tool with which we must work, and at the present stage of our research it is indispensable for getting at effects of inventions.

Sociology of knowledge method. It was indicated above that the social response to an invention might be considered an effect. How can one study response as effect? The actual manifestations of response as resistance or acceptance can be ascertained through observational studies. To understand the nature and reasons for particular response may be approached through the sociology of knowledge method. In a previous paper¹⁸ it was pointed out that "the sociology of knowledge is primarily a German product springing for the most part from the works of Max Weber, Max Scheler, Karl Mannheim, and others. The principal thesis

¹⁵ W. P. Webb, *The Great Plains*, (New York: Ginn & Co.) 1931.

¹⁶ M. R. Cohen and E. K. Nagel, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ J. B. Gittler, "Possibilities of A Sociology of Science," *Social Forces*, March, 1940. Vol. 17, p. 350.

of the sociology of knowledge or *Wissensoziologie* is that 'there are modes of thought which cannot be adequately understood as long as their social origins are obscured.' Intellectual life and thought is conceived as operating within a social milieu which pervades the thought so as to influence its mode and form. It attempts to understand thought in relation to its place in the historical-social scene. Ideas, thought-patterns, and the preconceived standards of the cognitive process, have their roots in the situational, existential framework." In short that there is a relationship between knowledge and social existence can hardly be denied. It is the task of sociology of knowledge to discover these relationships. Two methods besides the historical have been devised by the exponents of sociology of knowledge for this purpose: (1) imputation and implementation and (2) relationism. These methods consist of means of discovering empirically the social forces accountable for certain beliefs and dispositions. Thus by studying interests of a group in society we can account for the group's opposition to a particular invention. Psychological factors can be imputed to forms of social response. For instance, there tends to be a correlation between old age and conservatism. If this is true, older people would be less apt than younger to accept innovations.

The sociology of knowledge also emphasizes the situational approach. Here again we can study the effects of inventions. Let us take as an example, an appealing speaker who holds and dominates his audience. His stature and height add to his appeal as a speaker, as does his slow speech, his deep-toned voice, and good looks. However, as a radio speaker his appeal may be completely lost. His slow speech and deep voice tend to be annoying in radio reception. The magnetism of his looks carries no weight with his audience. Thus, his personality is deeply affected by the radio.

Conclusion: In conclusion it may be pointed out that these methods are not exhaustive. Other methods are possible. Not much has been said about the statistical methods. The possibilities in this field are numerous. Several attempts have been made in this direction. An outstanding example is E. L. Thorndike's *Education As Cause and As Symptom*, in which he computes the effect of public education on public welfare. W. C. Bagley's *Determinism in Education*, is another example.

The social effects of inventions can not be understood without further research. In closing it may be said that "the explanation of any social change is never complete, it is always an approximation."¹⁹

¹⁹ R. M. MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 546.

Population Aspects of Our Disorganized National Economy*

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Evidences from the entire western world indicate the approach of a new era of social and economic relationships. The past record in western civilization has been one of an expanding population taking over the undeveloped and unclaimed resources of the world. This process has gone hand-in-hand with another of gradually improved technology which has increased productive efficiency and expedited the exploitation of resources. The process has not been entirely smooth and undisturbed as wars and economic maladjustments have produced occasional setbacks in the general expansion. However, all the processes fitted together in a complementary fashion; the increasing population, improved techniques, and free land and resources furnished the basis for an economic and social expansion of which the western world has been very proud.

This period of easy expanding economy is slowly and painfully coming to an end. Expanding populations are no longer able to find desirable land and other resources to be had for the taking. The cry of "lebensraum" sounds a tragic note on the European and Asiatic continents. The shock of cyclical movements and of technological unemployment is no longer cushioned by free land. Breadlines or government work programs in every country, class and international struggle between the "haves" and "have-nots," and nationalized or semi-nationalized economic systems give evidence of the changing economic order.

Three dynamic forces in our economic and social system are working at cross purposes to each other. The first of these is the continued increase of population on a relatively fixed land base and in an economy in which fewer producers are needed. This gradually results in overpopulation in rural areas and in governmental attempts to keep excess farm people from moving to town. The second force is the rapid development of labor-saving machines and techniques in a society in

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Sociological Society in Dallas, Texas, April 11-12, 1941.

which the labor supply is increasing. The resulting unemployment throws our distribution system out of balance and makes it impossible to utilize our entire productive capacity. The third dynamic force is the concentrated control over prices, production, and employment that accompanies the utilization of technological developments. Organized industry and business gradually come into control of the distribution of employment, income, and wealth to all citizens, urban and rural. This control thwarts the operation of normal automatic adjustments of population to industries and occupations.

INCREASING POPULATION PRESSURE

The force of population growth on a fixed land base may be observed by an illustration from the agricultural population. According to Baker and Taeuber, 410,000 farm boys reached maturity each year from 1920 to 1930, whereas 106,000 farmers died each year.¹ The need was then for 304,000 new farms or other economic opportunities each year. In ten years this would amount to 3,040,000 farms or about 50 per cent of the total number of farms in the nation. Instead of 304,000 new farms every year, however, there was an average decrease of 16,000 farms. The result was that most farm boys had to migrate to cities, to the West, or drop to a farm labor status. The same process will go on for the next two decades at a slowly decreasing rate.

All over the country, county planning committees are reaching the conclusion that there are from two to three times as many farm people in the county as present agricultural methods will support. Generally these committees also conclude that too much of the land in their counties has been planted to crops.² Regional planners arrive at similar conclusions. "It has been recommended that 250,000 persons leave the Great Plains area, that 350,000 leave the Southern Appalachian Region, and that between 1,500,000 and 6,000,000 emigrate from the southeastern cotton belts."³

Disappearance of the frontier is quite as important for business and industry as for agriculture. New land areas meant new towns and cities, new areas for the establishment of stores, shops, and industrial plants. On the other hand, the establishment of small businesses and factories in areas already dominated by large organizations is quite hazardous. The era of easy opportunity to set up industrial and business enterprises has come to an end.

¹ 1940 *Yearbook of Agriculture*, p. 839.

² Paul H. Johnstone in *Land Policy Review*, November-December, 1939.

³ Frank Lorimer, *Foundations of American Population Policy*, p. 35.

The old frontier cushioned the shocks of cyclical depression; after it disappeared the government found it necessary to construct substitutes. In the United States in March 1940, there were 18,164,000 people in 6,342,000 households on public assistance programs. The new frontiers in America have become the WPA, the CCC, the NYA, and more recently national defense industries. It was believed that this type of public effort would only be temporary, but after ten years we are coming to the conclusion that the present economic maladjustment is of a more fundamental nature than a mere cyclical movement. We are being forced to consider the broader aspects of the economic tie-up.

IMPROVED TECHNOLOGY

The dynamic of improved technology is working at cross purposes to the population increase. Agricultural technology has advanced much less rapidly than the industrial, but it has been estimated that whereas 50 to 60 man-hours of labor were required to produce one acre of wheat (20 bushels) in 1825 only 3 to 4 man-hours were necessary in 1930; whereas 30 to 35 man-hours of labor were required to produce one acre of corn (40 bushels) in 1850 only 6 to 8 hours were required in 1930.⁴ Greatest present displacement of farm labor is by trucks and tractors which were doing the labor of 345,000 persons on farms in 1935. The number of tractors doubled from 1930 to 1940 and it seems that the trend will continue.⁵ Paul H. Johnstone of the U.S.D.A. estimates that 2,000,000 fewer farm persons will be needed in the next ten years.⁶

Just how large the surplus farm population is has been variously estimated. The National Resources Committee finds that 90 per cent of commercial agriculture crops are produced by 50 per cent of the farmers. If farmers were viewed on an industrial basis, then the other 50 per cent would have to be regarded as surplus.⁷ U.S.D.A. experts go even further and estimate that we now have 7,000,000 more farmers than will be needed to produce an adequate supply of food and clothing for all families in the nation.⁸

The greatest clash of the population and technological forces is in rural areas in the South at the present time. Birth rates have been high,

⁴ Dorothy C. Goodwin, *1940 Yearbook of Agriculture*, pp. 1186-95.

⁵ R. S. Kifer, B. H. Hurt, Albert H. Thornbrough, "Influence of Technical Progress on Agricultural Production," *1940 Yearbook of Agriculture*, p. 312.

⁶ Paul H. Johnstone, "Somewhere Else," *Land Policy Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1939.

⁷ National Resources Committee, *Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 59.

⁸ Oris V. Wells "How Many Farmers Do We Require?" *Land Policy Review*, Sept. 1940.

a surplus farm population already exists, and mechanization has recently been advancing quite rapidly. It has been estimated that each tractor, on an average, displaces two or three tenant or cropper families and that 10,000 farm families were displaced annually in Texas alone from 1935 to 1938.⁹ Studies conducted in Delta counties in Arkansas indicate a decline of from 14 to 25 per cent in number of cropper families per farm from 1932 to 1938. The AAA and WPA programs have had some part in the process of displacement, but the real situation is that those families were no longer needed to carry on farming operations.

Expanding production in industry formerly meant an increased demand for workers who came from the farms, thus relieving a potential situation of overpopulation. Production has been increasing recently, however, through improved technology alone and not by the hiring of extra workers. Between 1919 and 1929 indices of production in manufacturing and mining showed an increase of 45 per cent. At the same time there was a decrease on the payrolls of 800,000 men.¹⁰ Production increases since 1932 have been largely of this type. The result is that young people have been dammed up in rural areas where they were not needed. Migration from rural areas before the depression period was not taking place as rapidly as was actually needed. Professor Lorimer states in his *Foundation of American Population Policy* that the South was already saturated with population in 1880. Additions to population since that time have necessitated smaller farms and lower standards of living. By 1930 there were only 3.7 crop acres per farm person in North Carolina and West Virginia; 4.3 in Virginia and 4.7 in Kentucky; 5.1 in Louisiana and 6.1 in Arkansas. The national average was 12.2 while, at the other extreme, South Dakota had 47.3 and North Dakota 55.6.

Poverty in the Ozark area has frequently been attributed to low productivity of the soil. Census data, however, indicate that returns per acre from crops sold, used, and traded are almost as high as the national average. The outstanding difference is that 100 Ozark crop acres have to maintain from 18 to 42 people as compared with a burden of 8.8 persons per 100 crop acres in the United States generally. Such a situation becomes progressively more serious; farmers become financially less and less able to secure improved types of farm equipment,

⁹ C. Horace Hamilton, "Social Effects of Recent Trends in the Mechanization of Agriculture," *Rural Sociology*, March, 1939.

¹⁰ Samuel Tenenbaum, "The Machine: Samaritan or Frankenstein," *Social Forces*, May, 1940.

hence drop behind in competitive ability. In their struggle to meet machine competition with hand labor they rob their children of educational advantages and slowly force social and economic life to more primitive levels.

Economic and social structures over the entire world are being upset by the rapid rate of technological advance. Areas such as Germany, Italy, France, and England that formerly needed to import agricultural products now find that improved technology will allow them to become agriculturally self-sufficing. Contrariwise agricultural areas that were formerly good markets for industrial products are developing industries of their own. These changes necessitate a redistribution of population according to industry and occupation in every nation of the world.

CONCENTRATED CONTROL

Population might adjust to the new conditions more readily if it were not for the third dynamic force which prevents the flexible operation of our economic structure. Technical equipment requires large capital outlays and careful organization and has resulted in concentrated control in business and industry. Industrial groups then assume the dangerous power of establishing their own prices and their own output irrespective of natural trends in the market and irrespective of needs of the people for employment. According to Gardiner Means, less than half our wholesale prices changed as often as three times a year even during the upset conditions of 1929 and 1932.¹¹ As described by Mordecai Ezekiel: "The administered industrial prices were maintained with little decline, even though sales fell; production in these industries was reduced to one-third its previous volume. In the farm machinery industry, for example, prices in 1932 were still within ten per cent of 1929 levels. Farmers, with purchasing power greatly reduced, could not buy at previous prices. Farm implement sales fell to but one-third of 1929: and 61 per cent of the men in the industry were out of work."¹²

The losses suffered by lowered output during the past decade have been described as follows by the National Resources Committee: "... loss through non-production was in the magnitude of 200 billion dollars worth of goods and services. If all the idle men and machines could have been employed in making houses the extra income would

¹¹ National Resources Committee, *The Structure of American Economy*, Part I, pp. 127-130.

¹² Mordecai Ezekiel, *\$2500 A Year*, p. 40.

have been enough to provide a new \$6,000 house for every family in the country. If, instead, the lost income had been used to build railroads, the entire railroad system of the country could have been scrapped and rebuilt at least five times over. Even in the peak year of 1929 both production and national income could have been increased 19 per cent by merely putting to work the men and machines that were idle in that year."¹³ When prices are maintained at fixed levels, reduction in demand is not the only situation which produces unemployment. Increases in productive efficiency mean that fewer men will be needed to produce the amount of product in current demand. As technology advances, unemployment increases.¹⁴

Fixed wage levels for labor are quite as much of a barrier to economic adjustment as fixed prices for commodities. Labor has no fixed productivity and can not be held at an inflexible wage level without producing an impediment to normal adjustment. Organized laborers maintaining wages at artificial levels not only prevent the creation of jobs for those who do not have them, but reduce employment for themselves.

By comparison, increases in technology or in the number of workers in unorganized industries tend to increase production and reduce prices. Under such circumstances price trends have gradually been going against farmers to such an extent that many have been forced out of business. Normally a flow of population to industrial enterprises should then occur, but this has been checked by concentrated control over industry which has refused to allow normal expansion of the industrial plant. Consequently, many rural people have been unable to obtain a foothold either in the agricultural or the industrial structures of the nation. The situation may be summed up as follows: Our apparently surplus population has been forced out of agriculture and other unorganized industries because of low price levels, but are kept from entering organized industries because of their policy of restricted output and price maintenance.

In such a situation organized industry and business holds a near monopoly on the economic opportunities of the common man. If it reduces output, he goes hungry or on relief. If it does not expand activities as population grows, the taxpayer must take up the burden of support. A social obligation has fallen on our organized economic structure that it has shirked much too long already. It now occupies the key position in the distribution of population between jobs, industries, and regions

¹³ National Resources Committee, *Structure of the American Economy*, Pt. 1, pp. 2-3.

¹⁴ James Gilbert Evans, "Capitalism—An Obsolete Tool?" *Social Forces*, Mar. 1935.

of the nation, in the distribution of real income, and in the determination of how many people will be on public relief rolls. We have progressed from an individual economy to a corporate economy, but have not yet shifted social responsibilities to accord with the new situation.

Just one area still remains that can be expanded to take care of an increasing population. That is the field of technical advance. Careful study of the history of inventions and discoveries has indicated that this advance is a general social product rather than the result of the thinking of a few men; hence, it seems only just that it be largely used for the common welfare. The benefits of machine production can be spread widely among the people either in the form of higher wages or lower prices. The latter would appear to produce the most extensive spread of purchasing power and hence the greatest expansion of output and employment.

The close relationship of price levels to purchasing power and employment is indicated by Willis J. Ballinger, economic adviser to the Federal Trade Commission, by showing the increase in purchasing power with a one cent decrease in price. In 1937 a difference of a cent a gallon in the price of gasoline would have increased purchasing power by \$200,000,000, a difference of a cent on a bottle of milk would have increased it by \$375,000,000.¹⁵

The position of the surplus population has been most distressing. Such people have sought opportunity by moving from town to country or vice versa, by moving West or the reverse, by following seasonal harvests or odd jobs; they are finally settling down on government employment rolls. Differential treatment of this group as to wages and hours, eligibility for surplus commodities, hospitalization, and other public favors threatens to set them aside as a distinct class of public wards.

A large number of the farm families displaced by machine production are not well enough advanced culturally to make a good adjustment in the present-day urban environment. A study of 3,347 farm families who migrated from farms to twelve Arkansas cities indicate that they are often unqualified to fit into urban occupations. They fit into the economic structure at the very bottom in odd jobs, day labor, and other work with no opportunity either for permanent employment or for advancement. They are not able to use the social and religious

¹⁵ Quoted in *Congressional Record*, March 25, 1941, p. A1474.

advantages of the city and cease to participate in civic and political activities.¹⁶

One population aspect of economic maladjustment that cannot be evaluated but which is of the highest significance is that of population quality, not inherent quality but that which comes as the result of environmental stimuli, environmental stresses and strains. The unwanted person, the person who is treated as surplus, the one who is unable to obtain conventional economic opportunity, develops emotional reactions that destroy his sound citizenship. They are frustrated individuals who lack stability and may easily be incited to destroy the social structure that means so little to them.

The point of view is very well expressed by Harry D. Gideonse: "In the end the central question in any discussion of economic policy should be: What kind of man does it make? If we rush in to relieve one apparently unconnected emergency after another, such symptom treatment will give us a population of dependent citizens, unlikely to exercise whatever political and civil liberties they may still technically continue to enjoy."¹⁷

To regard our national economic situation pessimistically is to overlook the possibilities involved; manpower ought to be counted among a nation's resources rather than its liabilities. What looks like overpopulation may be more accurately interpreted as inability to adjust our economic structure to present day social and economic needs. Homes are needed, more clothing, more food, and many other necessities of life; now that we have the manpower and the machine power so that we can have them, our potential well-being is greater than ever before. It is actually an era of potential abundance, and our real problem is one of social organization.¹⁸

A concrete illustration as to the extent of these unmet needs is in the field of housing. Isidor Lubin testified before the Temporary National Economic Committee to the fact that 525,000 new housing units are needed each year if housing in the nation is to remain at its present level. We are only building 190,000 houses a year; hence, housing in the nation is becoming progressively worse. Two hundred and eighty thousand new families are added to the population each year and

¹⁶ See also Morris J. Caldwell, "Adjustments of Mountain Families in an Urban Environment," *Social Forces*, March 1938.

¹⁷ Harry D. Gideonse, *Organized Scarcity and Public Policy*, University of Chicago Public Policy Pamphlet No. 30, pp. 47-48.

¹⁸ National Resources Committee, *Structure of the American Economy*, Part II, p. 7.

housing construction does not even provide for them, let alone begin to replace the 4,000,000 substandard houses that ought to be replaced.¹⁹

PROGRAMS TOWARD A SOLUTION

The problem of how to reestablish excess farm families and industrial workers in our economic system has been approached from many angles. Attempts are being made to extend our frontiers; reclamation projects in the West will accommodate up to a million people. Colonizing Alaska still has possibilities in spite of the mediocre success of the Matanuska project. Tentative arrangements have been made for settlement of some of our people in Brazil. Yet all of these are entirely inadequate to meet the situation.

Much more planning can be done toward providing opportunities for rural people in their present location. In overcrowded areas intensive farm enterprises such as the production of truck crops, poultry, and hogs should partially alleviate the population problem. Carefully planned enterprises to process the products of local farms, mines, and timber lands could provide additional opportunities for a livelihood. Proposals to set up special enterprises for displaced agricultural and industrial workers deserve consideration. In England cooperative "trading estates" were set up for the unemployed. Some of these employ workers in government financed factories, which are paid out over a period of five years. Other workers are employed on cooperative farms which produce truck and other intensive types of crops. The endeavor is to support a large number of workers on a small area; the Sealand Manor farm of 800 acres supports 450 people. These farms and factories produce for the market but have potentialities for building up a production and exchange system to meet the needs of the group itself.²⁰

Proposals for temporary and long range public works programs place the responsibility of providing employment on the government, but the range of activities permitted to the government is so narrow that it cannot use the extra supply of labor efficiently in times of crisis.

The use of the taxing power has been recommended to bring about a more complete use of the industrial plant. One group would tax bank deposits and other savings in an effort to get money out of its hiding places and into circulation. Another would tax incomes, gifts, and in-

¹⁹ From testimony before Temporary National Economic Committee, Vol. II, p. 4967.

²⁰ Murray K. Benedict, "Economic Aspects of Remedial Measures Designed to Meet the Problems of Displaced Farm Laborers," *Rural Sociology*, June 1940, p. 180, and "A British Experiment in Cooperative Farming," *Land Policy Review*, March-April, 1940, p. 28.

heritances to raise funds to provide more adequate educational, medical, and other social services for families with low incomes. Such funds could also be used to pay subsidies and bonuses, as in the case of the AAA and Soil Conservation programs.²¹

All these plans permit the fundamental price maladjustments in the economic system to continue and merely try to set up compensations for them. In so far as they expedite the one-sided operation of the economic machinery they would accentuate the problem of distribution of income. Parity price programs have the same one-sided quality; to achieve parity with prices that may be advanced at will is likely to be an endless effort. Actual readjustment can only come through some program that will put the price system back into balance. Most simple proposal along this line is that of breaking trusts and monopolies by government action. Price maintenance, however, can be carried on merely as a gentlemen's agreement, or on an even less substantial foundation. Government "yardsticks" seem to have been comparatively effective in loosening up rigid price levels.

Several specific programs for an expansion of production and employment have been made that would involve a realignment of price levels. Dr. H. G. Moulton of Brookings Institute proposes a concerted price reduction program by industrial concerns which would make goods move more rapidly and gradually cause maximum output to be reached.²² Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel has worked out more definite plans for industrial expansion under government supervision. He advocates government contracts with all industries which would provide for them to expand their production at predetermined rates while the government would agree to buy up all products which they could not dispose of.²³ Government participation in industrial expansion seems desirable for two reasons; first, the expansion is really a public service and the risk should be largely assumed by the public, and, second, a public agency is in a better position to coordinate the expansion of the various industries and secure maximum output in a shorter time.

Whatever the method, a challenge exists to experts in organization to coordinate our economic activities so that potential producers are not idle in the face of an insufficiency of food, clothing, and other necessities of life. To achieve permanent results, some type of coordinated effort seems inevitable. Organizational science has advanced

²¹ See "Recovery Plans," Temporary National Economic Committee, *Monograph No. 25*.

²² H. G. Moulton, *Income and Economic Progress*, pp. 155-165.

²³ Mordecai Ezekiel, *Jobs For All*, pp. 11-18.

rapidly both in government and in large-scale industry and should be competent to devise a smooth working structure. The sooner a maximum output economy can be achieved by democratic cooperation, the less there will be to fear from totalitarian propaganda.

James Gilbert Evans has indicated that we are not yet prepared to formulate a population policy to go with such a program. We do not yet know the "industrial pattern that would in the long run best promote the efficiency of the national economy." For example, industrialization of the South, undoubtedly a major aspect of a program of maximum output, would require a large labor force, so we do not yet know whether people in the overcrowded South should migrate elsewhere or stay where they are. The first task of a national planning board would be to construct the blueprints for a coordinated development as between regions and industries.²⁴ Outlines of procedure are gradually becoming more clear and we should soon be able to use our accumulated science and technology for the general well-being rather than to have their value dissipated by an organizational defect in our social structure.

²⁴ James Gilbert Evans, "The Economics of Migration and Southern Poverty," *Social Forces*, October, 1940, p. 114.

Amendments to the Texas Constitution*

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Since the admission of Texas into the Union in 1845, there have been five state constitutions. The present Constitution, which is not as old as twenty-one other existing state constitutions,¹ was adopted in 1876. Since that date, eighty-four amendments to what is supposedly the fundamental law of the state have been proposed by the Legislature and ratified or approved by the voters. Seventy more have been proposed by the Legislature, but rejected by the voters.² When one recalls that Congress has proposed only twenty-six amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which was ratified in 1789,³ and that still fewer, only twenty-one, have been ratified by the states, one is justified in inquiring into the reasons for the many amendments to our State Constitution. Also, it is proper for one to manifest interest regarding the nature of such a multitude of amendments.

No attempt will be made here to exhaust all of the reasons for these many changes and attempted changes in the Constitution of Texas. Neither will an effort be made in this article to analyze all of the changes that have been made or attempted. An effort will be made to give only a few fairly well known reasons for some of the amendments, and to analyze only enough of the changes to show their general nature.

A partial explanation for the great number of amendments can be found by examining the conditions under which the Constitution was written and by examining the characteristics of the document itself. In 1875, when the Constitution was drafted, the people of Texas were in the process of throwing off the so-called "carpetbag rule" which had

* Paper given at the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the Social Science Section, Southwestern Division, American Association For The Advancement of Science, Lubbock, Texas, April 30, 1941.

¹ C. C. Rohlfsing and E. W. Carter, *State Constitutional Amendments and Conventions* (Chicago, American Legislators' Association, 1935), pp. 3-6.

² *General Laws of Texas and General and Special Laws of Texas*, Every regular session 1879 to 1939, except the one for 1885.

³ F. A. Ogg and P. O. Ray, *Introduction to American Government* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940), p. 34.

been imposed on the Southern States during the period of Reconstruction which followed the Civil War. The misuse of authority, the wastefulness and extravagance, that had been seen in the State were partly responsible for causing the framers of the new constitution to write a document that attempted to diffuse authority to such an extent that no official or agency of government could become very powerful. This diffusion was partially accomplished by applying the erroneous theory which holds that real democracy can be obtained only through the use of the long ballot, *i. e.*, by electing for short terms, not only the policy-forming officers, but also purely administrative and judicial officers. Not only were powers, duties, and procedures set forth in great detail, but in addition numerous minute limitations were placed on most agencies of the government, especially on the Legislature.

Also adverse agricultural conditions at the time resulted in a demand for retrenchment in governmental costs.⁴ The farmers were in a mood for the destruction of governmental machinery, and they insisted upon that which they retained being supported at low costs to the taxpayers. Low salaries were even fixed in the Constitution. When it is realized that in 1875 Texas was almost entirely an agricultural state, and that there were more farmer delegates in the Convention of 1875 (about one-half of the delegates were Grangers) than delegates from any other occupation, it can be seen why some of the efforts were made to place in a straitjacket the officials and agencies that were created.⁵

The personnel of the Convention has been characterized as merely average. Most of the newspapers of that period criticized the delegates and their work.⁶ The type of statesmanship that characterized the Convention can be seen when a study is made of the proceedings. For example, the delegates debated for several days at a cost of three hundred dollars per day, the question of employing a stenographer to keep a record of the debates. They finally decided not to use one. Considerable time was also spent by the delegates in determining their own salaries as members of the Convention.⁷

The attitude of the framers toward higher education is reflected in the constitutional provision which prohibited the Legislature from levy-

⁴ S. S. McKay, *Making The Texas Constitution of 1876* (Columbus, Ohio, F. J. Heer Printing Company, 1924), pp. 66-78.

⁵ S. S. McKay, *Making The Texas Constitution of 1876* (Columbus, Ohio, F. J. Heer Printing Company, 1924), Chapter II.

⁶ S. D. Myers, Jr., "Mysticism, Realism, and the Texas Constitution of 1876" *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. IX, pp. 177-181, September, 1928.

⁷ S. S. McKay, *Debates in The Texas Constitutional Convention of 1875* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1930), pp. 1-42.

ing any tax, or appropriating any money out of the general fund for the erection of buildings for the University of Texas. About three million acres of good land that had previously been given to the University of Texas were taken from it, and the institution was granted one million acres of then almost worthless land, with the assumption that the income from it would build all the buildings an institution of higher learning would require or deserve.⁸ The University was "ill-housed" until many years later, when oil was discovered on some of its lands. Other examples of the same type of statesmanship in the Convention could be mentioned.

The attempt to include in a state constitution all the fundamentals of democratic government, and most of the non-fundamentals as well, resulted in a document of some 35,000 words, which, because of its minute details, has required numerous amendments, and is today the type of constitution that a state should not have if it is to cope effectively with present-day governmental problems. In contrast, the Constitution of the United States contains only about 7,000 words, and as a whole deals only with fundamentals.

What have we done to the Texas Constitution through the amending process? Of the seventeen articles in the Constitution, all but six have been amended from one to nineteen times. The article which provides for the Legislative Department has been amended the greatest number of times. Of the thirty-four measures proposed to this article by the Legislature, nineteen were approved and fifteen were rejected by the voters.⁹ Nine of these proposals were simply for the purpose of raising the compensation of members of the Legislature from the original five dollars per day. The last attempt was successful in 1930, and the pay was raised to ten dollars per day plus mileage. At the same time, the length of the regular session was increased.¹⁰ Twice the voters defeated proposals which would have permitted the Legislature to fix all state, district, county, and precinct salaries.¹¹

Ten of the proposals to the legislative article dealt with pensions, and tax rates for raising pensions, for Confederate soldiers and sailors and their wives and widows. The first amendment authorizing the

⁸ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VII, Section 10-15.

⁹ *General Laws of Texas and General and Special Laws of Texas*, Regular sessions of 1881, 1887, 1893, 1897, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913, 1915, 1919, 1921, 1923, 1927, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937.

¹⁰ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article III, Section 5 and Section 24.

¹¹ *General Laws of Texas*, 1913, pp. 459-460, H.J.R. No. 41. *General Laws of Texas*, 1919, pp. 348-349, H.J.R. No. 7.

Legislature to grant aid to this group was adopted in 1894. Since that date, nine additional amendments have been proposed changing the amounts to be granted and the rate of the property tax to be collected for the payment of the benefits. Only three proposals for benefits for Confederates have been defeated at the polls, and in each case amendments providing for almost, if not exactly, the same details as those defeated were later adopted. It might be added that even with all these changes the system has not been a satisfactory one. There has been and still is a deficit in the Confederate Pension Fund which is growing smaller only because of deaths in the ranks of the recipients.¹² This should show the disadvantage of placing any tax rate in a constitution.

Due to the fact that over half of the fifty-nine sections of the legislative article place limitations upon the authority of the Legislature, other amendments added to it for the most part merely authorize the Legislature to do some particular thing that a legislative body might be expected to do without an amendment to the constitution. For example, in 1933, an amendment was adopted authorizing the Legislature to issue twenty million dollars in relief bonds.¹³ In 1935, it was empowered to provide for old age assistance.¹⁴ Two years later it was given authority to provide for assistance to needy blind and to needy children.¹⁵ In 1904, the Legislature was empowered to authorize local units of government to issue bonds for certain internal improvements.¹⁶ In 1937, the Legislature was authorized to permit Harris County to levy a special property tax to build roads and bridges.¹⁷ In 1932, the Legislature was given the power to release or extinguish delinquent taxes which had been due for a period of ten years,¹⁸ and in 1936, it was authorized to pass laws providing for workmen's compensation for state employees.¹⁹

One recent amendment to the legislative article warrants special attention, since it reveals the fact that Texas is still not willing to give up rural control over the Legislature. This amendment, adopted in 1936, provides that no county may have more than seven members in the House of Representatives unless such a county has a population of more than seven hundred thousand, and in that event there can be only

¹² *Annual Report of The Comptroller of Public Accounts*, 1940.

¹³ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article III, Section 51a.

¹⁴ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article III, Section 51b.

¹⁵ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article III, Sections 51c and 51d.

¹⁶ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article III, Section 52.

¹⁷ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article III, Section 52d.

¹⁸ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article III, Section 53.

¹⁹ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article III, Section 59.

one additional representative for each one hundred thousand population.²⁰

Of the amendments proposed affecting the Executive Department of the government,²¹ eight were for the purpose of raising the Governor's salary from the four thousand dollars a year provided when the Constitution was drafted in 1875. Finally in 1936, the eighth attempt was successful, and the salary of the Governor and several other executive officials was increased, but again the salaries were fixed in the Constitution.

It is interesting to notice that very little administrative machinery has been created by constitutional amendment. Of about one hundred and fifty administrative agencies in Texas today, only a few have been provided for by constitutional amendment. Only seven amendments of this type have been proposed. Five were adopted; two, defeated. Those adopted authorized the Legislature to establish the Railroad Commission in 1894,²² created the Prison Commission in 1912,²³ abolished the Prison Commission in 1926,²⁴ authorized the Legislature to establish the State Board of Education in 1928,²⁵ and created the Board of Pardons and Paroles in 1936.²⁶ Those defeated included a proposal for a Commissioner of Agriculture and a Bureau of Labor in 1907,²⁷ and an unsuccessful attempt had been made, in 1921, to abolish the Prison Commission.²⁸ These facts would seem to indicate that, in spite of the many constitutional amendments, the most important changes that have occurred in Texas with respect to carrying out the laws have come by means other than by constitutional amendment. Most of the administrative machinery has, of course, been created by statute.

The article providing for the Judicial Department has been amended five times.²⁹ One of these amendments, however, had thirteen parts, and caused the whole article to be almost completely rewritten. Seven additional amendments were proposed by the Legislature, but they were

²⁰ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article III, Section 26a. *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1935, pp. 1224-1226, H.J.R. No. 9.

²¹ *General Laws of Texas and General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1907, 1919, 1921, 1929, 1935, and 1939.

²² *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article XVI, Section 30.

²³ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article XVI, Section 58.

²⁴ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article XVI, Section 58.

²⁵ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VII, Section 8.

²⁶ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article IV, Section 11.

²⁷ *General Laws of Texas*, 1907, p. 414, S.J.R. No. 13.

²⁸ *General Laws of Texas*, 1921, p. 281, H.J.R. No. 30.

²⁹ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article V, Sections 29, 3a, 3b, 108, 11, 12, 16, 25, 28.

defeated by the voters.⁸⁰ The article is now over a dozen pages long, and most of the changes that have been made are of the type that would have been unnecessary had the framers of the Texas Constitution stayed with fundamentals, as did the framers of the United States Constitution. The judicial article of the United States Constitution is printed on one page.

The suffrage article has been added to by six amendments. Three more proposed by the Legislature were turned down by the voters. The first amendment proposed to this article by the Legislature authorized the Legislature to provide for registration of all voters in all cities containing a population of ten thousand or more.⁸¹ It was defeated in 1887, but the next Legislature proposed it again, and it was adopted in 1891.⁸² The next amendment, adopted in 1896, required all persons of foreign birth who were not citizens and who desired to vote to have declared their intentions to become citizens at least six months before the election in which they offered to vote.⁸³ The original Constitution had provided that such persons must have declared their intentions at any time before the election. In 1902, an amendment was adopted requiring all persons subject to a poll tax to have paid a poll tax before offering to vote at any election in the State.⁸⁴ The Constitution had originally provided that men between the ages of 21 and 60 should be subject to a poll tax of one dollar, but the tax was not made a prerequisite for voting until the adoption of this amendment in 1902. The next amendment, adopted in 1921, legalized woman suffrage, authorized the Legislature to provide for absentee voting, and eliminated the provision which had permitted other than full-fledged citizens to vote.⁸⁵ A proposed amendment authorizing absentee voting had been defeated in 1915,⁸⁶ and another proposing to authorize women suffrage had been defeated in 1919.⁸⁷ In 1932, an amendment gave the voting privilege to officers and enlisted men of the National Guard of Texas and of the National Guard Reserve, to members of the Officers Reserve Corps of the United States, to retired officers and enlisted men of the United

⁸⁰ *General Laws of Texas*, 1881, J.R. No. 6; 1887, S.J.R. No. 26; 1907, S.J.R. No. 5; 1913, S.J.R. No. 11; 1915, S.J.R. No. 3. *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1927, S.J.R. No. 24; 1929, H.J.R. No. 6.

⁸¹ *General Laws of Texas*, 1887, p. 157, S.J.R. No. 17.

⁸² *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VI, Section 4.

⁸³ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VI, Section 2.

⁸⁴ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VI, Section 2.

⁸⁵ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VI, Section 2.

⁸⁶ *General Laws of Texas*, 1915, pp. 289-290, H.J.R. No. 1.

⁸⁷ *General Laws of Texas*, 1919, pp. 339-341, S.J.R. No. 7.

States Army, Navy and Marine Corps, and to retired warrant officers.³⁸ The last amendment to the suffrage article restricted the suffrage privilege somewhat by providing, also in 1932, that in bond elections voting should be restricted to owners of property who have rendered same for taxation.³⁹

Twenty-three amendments have been proposed to the article on education.⁴⁰ Fifteen were adopted,⁴¹ and eight were defeated. Of those adopted, seven merely made changes in the maximum tax rates of school districts. One of these also provided for free textbooks. Others validated existing school districts, provided regulations relating to the sale of school lands, to the investment of permanent school funds, the investment of the permanent University funds, and the fixing of terms for school officers. One authorized the Legislature to establish the State Board of Education. Two unsuccessful attempts were made to separate the University of Texas from Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College.⁴²

Twelve amendments have been added to the article on taxation and revenue.⁴³ Nine more proposed amendments were defeated.⁴⁴ In 1879, the first amendment adopted to the then new Constitution exempted all farm products in the hands of the producer, as well as family supplies for home and farm use, from all taxation unless otherwise provided by a two-thirds vote of all members elected to both houses of the Legislature.⁴⁵ Several of the other amendments merely changed the tax rates that could be levied by the State, counties, cities and towns. Two amendments were adopted, one in 1906 and one in 1928, for the purpose of exempting from taxes additional amounts of property used for religious and educational purposes.⁴⁶ Amendments partially exempting

³⁸ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VI, Section 1.

³⁹ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VI, Section 3a.

⁴⁰ *General Laws of Texas*, 1883, 1887, 1891, 1895, 1907, 1909, 1915, 1917, 1919, 1925, 1931, 1933. *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1927; 1929 and 1935.

⁴¹ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VII, Sections 3, 3a, 4, 5, 6, 6a, 8, 11, 16.

⁴² *General Laws of Texas*, 1915, pp. 291-294, H.J.R. No. 34. *General Laws of Texas*, 1919, pp. 250-354, H.J.R. No. 29.

⁴³ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VIII, Sections 1a, 2, 9, 13, 14, 19, 20.

⁴⁴ *General Laws of Texas*, 1887, 1897, 1907, 1919, 1933, 1939.

⁴⁵ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VIII, Section 19. *General Laws of Texas*, 1879, p. 192, J.R. No. 13.

⁴⁶ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VIII, Section 2. *General Laws of Texas*, 1905, pp. 410-411, S.J.R. No. 4. *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1927, pp. 466-467, H.J.R. No. 20.

homesteads from taxation were adopted in 1932 and 1933.⁴⁷ Another permitting property owners to redeem within two years property that has been sold for taxes was adopted in 1932.⁴⁸ Also in 1932, one was adopted that combined the offices of county assessor and county tax collector into one office.⁴⁹ The last amendment made to this article, adopted in 1937, permitted a discount for early payment of property taxes.⁵⁰ Several other amendments have been adopted. Among those defeated was one of 1934 that would have limited total annual state tax collections and expenditures to \$22.50 for each inhabitant of the state.⁵¹ Also, two unsuccessful attempts were made, one in 1927 and one in 1934, to permit classification of property so as to make it possible to apply different rates to non-real property from those applied to real property.⁵²

Passing over the articles on counties, railroads, and municipal corporations, all of which were amended from one to four times, one finds that the article on general provisions has been the subject of thirty proposed amendments. Sixteen of these were adopted,⁵³ and fourteen were defeated by the voters.⁵⁴ Only a few of the thirty need be mentioned to reveal the nature of those proposals. In 1938, a proposal was adopted which changed the wording of the oath of office which must be taken by state officials so as to eliminate the provision which had required office holders to swear they had not fought a duel.⁵⁵ In 1891, an adoption changed the maximum legal rate of interest from twelve per cent to ten per cent and changed the rate when no rate is specified

⁴⁷ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VIII, Section 1a. *General Laws of Texas*, 1931, pp. 941-942, H.J.R. No. 6. *General Laws of Texas*, 1933, pp. 934-935, H.J.R. No. 32.

⁴⁸ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VIII, Section 13. *General Laws of Texas*, 1931, pp. 918-919, H.J.R. No. 24.

⁴⁹ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VIII, Section 14. *General Laws of Texas*, 1931, pp. 942-943, H.J.R. No. 21.

⁵⁰ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article VIII, Section 20. *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1937, pp. 1497-1499, S.J.R. No. 16.

⁵¹ *General Laws of Texas*, 1933, pp. 1038-1939, S.J.R. No. 13.

⁵² *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1927, pp. 472-473, H.J.R. No. 23. *General Laws of Texas*, 1933, pp. 990-992, S.J.R. No. 16.

⁵³ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article XVI, Sections 1, 11, 16, 20, 20a, 20b, 20c, 20d, 20e, 30a, 30b, 33, 40, 60, 61.

⁵⁴ *General Laws of Texas*, 1887, 1911, H.J.R. No. 2; 1907, H.J.R. No. 24; 1913, H.J.R. No. 41; 1917, S.J.R. No. 12; 1919, S.J.R. No. 23; 1919, H.J.R. No. 38; 1919, H.J.R. No. 7; 1933, H.J.R. No. 42; 1933, H.C.R. No. 100. *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1927, H.J.R. No. 32; 1927, S.J.R. No. 23; S.J.R. No. 3a; 1937, H.J.R. No. 24.

⁵⁵ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article XVI, Section 1. *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1937, pp. 1498-1499, H.J.R. No. 20.

in a contract from eight per cent to six per cent.⁵⁶ Before state banks could be incorporated in Texas, an amendment authorizing such incorporation had to be adopted in 1904. It also authorized a system of state regulation of banks.⁵⁷ In 1912, the Legislature was authorized to provide for six-year overlapping terms for members of state boards.⁵⁸

That part of the general provisions article which deals with the subject of liquor control or prohibition has been amended seven times. Under this Constitution, we started with local option.⁵⁹ By 1887, prohibition was proposed, but defeated.⁶⁰ In 1891, a slight change was made in the local option provisions,⁶¹ and in 1911 another unsuccessful attempt was made to outlaw intoxicating liquors.⁶² Finally in 1919, the prohibition forces were successful,⁶³ and although some of the so-called "drys" did not drink the way they had voted, Texas was legally dry from then until 1933, when the amendment legalizing 3.2 per cent beer and wine was adopted.⁶⁴ Local option provisions again applied, and the same was true when two years later, in 1935, liquor was legalized. This last provision also prohibited the open saloon and gave to the Legislature the duty of defining the term "open saloon."⁶⁵ In 1936 a proposal to give the state the exclusive right to purchase liquor at wholesale and sell at retail, with the open saloon still prohibited, was defeated.⁶⁶

Among the blessings of liberty made possible by constitutional amendment was the addition to the fundamental law of the State a provision in 1932, authorizing the Legislature to appropriate funds for celebrating the Texas Centennial.⁶⁷ However, back in 1919, the voters of the State did not feel that it was essential to their liberty, or to the pursuit of their happiness, that prisoners in the penitentiary be per-

⁵⁶ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article XVI, Section 11. *General Laws of Texas*, 1891, H.J.R. No. 1.

⁵⁷ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*; Article XVI, Section 16. *General Laws of Texas*, 1903, pp. 249-250, S.H.J.R. No. 215.

⁵⁸ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article XVI, Section 30a. *General Laws of Texas*, 1911, pp. 286-287, H.J.R. No. 9.

⁵⁹ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article XVI, Section 20.

⁶⁰ *General Laws of Texas*, 1887, p. 155.

⁶¹ *General Laws of Texas*, 1891, p. 196, H.J.R. No. 12.

⁶² *General Laws of Texas*, 1911, pp. 283-294, H. J. R. No. 2.

⁶³ *General Laws of Texas*, 1919, pp. 337-339, H.J.R. No. 1.

⁶⁴ *General Laws of Texas*, 1933, pp. 971-972, H. J. R. No. 43.

⁶⁵ *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1935, pp. 1229-1231, S.J.R. No. 3.

⁶⁶ *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1935, pp. 1233-1235, S.J.R. No. 3a.

⁶⁷ *The Constitution of The State of Texas*, Article XVI, Section 60. *General Laws of Texas*, 1931, pp. 944-945, S.J.R. No. 28.

mitted to share, up to fifty per cent, in the net profits of the penitentiary system, and such a proposal was defeated.⁶⁸

The last article is the one which sets forth the method of amending the Constitution. The only proposed amendment to this article that got to the voters came in 1935, when one was proposed which would have permitted the Legislature to submit constitutional amendments, not only at regular sessions as now, but also at special sessions. The proposal was rejected by the voters.⁶⁹

From what has been said, it should be evident that the Constitution of Texas is everything that a constitution should not be, and the many changes that we have made have not improved it. Instead, they have cluttered it up with still more statutory provisions and administrative details. Instead of being a fundamental law, it is a statutory code of legislative, judicial, and administrative procedure.

Since making changes in a constitution is theoretically a higher act than merely voting on candidates for office, one might suppose that a great amount of voter interest was shown in elections in which the voter has an opportunity to determine the nature of the fundamental law. But in Texas, as well as in other states with lengthy constitutions, that is not the case. In 1940, 1,041,168 votes were cast in Texas for Presidential electors,⁷⁰ and 1,079,538 votes were cast in the general election for the various candidates for Governor.⁷¹ In the same election votes were cast on four proposed constitutional amendments. In no case did the total vote cast for and against an amendment equal one-half of the total vote cast for the candidates for Governor or for Presidential electors. The proposal receiving the greatest vote was the one authorizing the Secretary of State, instead of the Governor, to appoint notaries public. Here the combined vote was 474,025.⁷² In 1938, only 163,048, or fewer than twenty per cent of more than 1,000,000 voters in Texas, were interested enough to vote for or against the amendment which removed the dueling clause from the oath of office.⁷³ In a special election in 1937, only 105,944 voters voted on a proposal to abolish the salary method of paying certain local officials.⁷⁴ These figures, which could be almost duplicated many times, reveal the fact that in Texas

⁶⁸ *General Laws of Texas*, 1919, pp. 357-358, H.J.R. No. 38.

⁶⁹ *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1935, pp. 1231-1232, H.J.R. No. 48.

⁷⁰ *The Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, December 1, 1940, p. 22.

⁷¹ *Senate Journal*, Forty-seventh Texas Legislature, January 16, 1941, p. 43.

⁷² *The Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, December 1, 1940, p. 22.

⁷³ Information obtained from the Secretary of State, Austin, Texas.

⁷⁴ *General and Special Laws of Texas*, 1937, p. XXXVI.

less than half, and in some cases as few as ten per cent of the voters, are responsible for changes in our Constitution. When one considers that only about one-third of the potential voters are here considered as voters, then these percentages become very, very small. At any rate, a minority of the electorate controls the changes in our fundamental law. This condition is a reflection on our democratic process, and in these days when the democratic process is under attack, it would seem only logical that efforts should be made to correct existing defects. If democracy is to compete successfully with other forms of government, it might be that certain objectionable conditions existing within our governments should be corrected.

If we want to create interest in constitutional provisions, we must begin by simplifying the Constitution. John Marshall, in the famous case of *McCulloch v. Maryland*, indicated that a constitution must stick to fundamentals and cannot go into details. If we merely described the broad outline of government, we could reduce the Texas Constitution by two-thirds. Fewer changes would be required, and when such changes should be proposed they would create interest. The people should not be called upon to vote on amendments every year. It is, no doubt, because of the many inconsequential amendments that are proposed and because of the lack of proper advertising of these proposals, that so little interest is manifested.

It may be that if we are to have in the future the most desirable type of democracy in Texas, we must adopt a constitution that deals only with fundamentals and provides us with a government that can cope effectively with the problems of present-day society. Such a constitution should make it possible for us to have, among other things, a popularly-controlled, well-paid Legislature with fewer limitations on itself, an effective agency of administration, with the administrative process divorced, so far as possible, from politics, and a non-elective court system, based on the principle of swift, certain, and inexpensive justice for all. Such a constitution would not be foreign to Americanism. Rights protected by the Bill of Rights would still be protected. It would simply give us in Texas a system that could be more efficient but still democratic.

Class Origins of Relief Children

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THE NEW PROBLEM FAMILY

Families with growing children seem to have been ever-present among those in poverty and dependency, but in a competitive society, such as ours, in which families may travel rapidly up and down the pathways of social mobility, in contrast to a stratified society where mobility is generally intra-class, special problems arise. Children have well-defined patterns of behavior resulting from their early experiences and the social statuses enjoyed by their parents. When mobility rates reach erratic peaks, life patterns are broken by violent changes and children suffer more than busy elders have time to note.

In recent years, social mobility affecting children has been due largely to economic breakdown. The pathways of mobility have become chutes, down which families slip from every sort of former status. These families are now floundering at the bottom of the social heap in every urban community, and before a sound program can be devised for the rehabilitation of these unfortunates, several questions must be answered. Are they of good stock? What was their former status? What are their particular needs? What is a practical program for them? The present study hopes to indicate how some light may be thrown upon the subject and to offer some limited findings.

It should be noted that "depression families with growing children" are not to be confused with the traditional classes of socially distressed, which are always found at the foot of the economic and social ladder. Gillin has scholarly discussions of the mentally defective, the dependents, the sick and disabled, the aged, the blind, the unemployed, *et al*, and ably presents their problems.¹ However, this study is confined to the depression-made problem family possessed of children who are in high school in competition with the children of the normally successful population.

Depression-hit families of parent-children constituency have been severely strained by enforced adjustment to lower economic and social

¹ Gillin, J. L., *Poverty and Dependency*, Appleton-Century, 1939.

levels. Many such families once enjoyed the status of success and the pleasures of prosperity, but are now unhappily resigned to an abnormal situation, tolerable only because of the vast numbers of others who also bear the stamp of defeat. Some of these families have been underprivileged so long that the children think "working for the government," "employed by the county," or "being on a project" is the normal occupation for their fathers. Already the children have been conditioned throughout their early and impressionable years to the general patterns of poverty culture, and the cultural accumulation within these patterns promises to continue until the society can understand and meet the needs of depression children by special planning. Casual observation shows that unmet personal needs are causing increased variations in behavior to the detriment of personal integrity and social integration.

To arrive at some definite light about these special relief families, a sample of 1040 cases of relief children in a city of 120,000 population was studied.² Through the cooperation of relief authorities, keyed lists were prepared permitting the study of the school records of those concerned. In this sample there are no problems of foreign culture, since 96.5 per cent of the community is native stock; there are no problems of racial correlation, since the cases of Negroes and Mexicans were removed; and, the percentage of broken homes is below the general norm for the community as a whole. With this refinement, it is probable that a fair picture of the "new problem family" can be obtained.

IS THE STOCK OF RELIEF CHILDREN NORMAL?

A previously reported study³ has given the mental rating of relief children as compared with the total population in ten separate statistical classes. A resume of this tabulation is as follows:

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS OF
RELIEF CHILDREN AND OF TOTAL HIGH SCHOOL
POPULATION, 1934-39.

I. Q.'s	Relief Children	Total Population
TOTAL.....	100.00%	100.00%
145 or above.....	.40	.40
105 to 144.....	40.90	53.15
95 to 104.....	26.00	22.33
94 or below.....	33.70	24.12

² Stutz, John, *Bulletin* 167, Kansas Emergency Relief Committee, Topeka, Kansas.

³ Croft, Albert E., "Ability of Relief Children," *American Sociological Review*, April, 1940.

It is a plausible conclusion, drawn from the above evidence, that, so far as the study at hand goes, the relief children are inferior to the normal population. However, the statistical breakdown into ten classes showed that both groups had the same proportion of children with intelligence quotients above 145, that the range was the same, and the bias throughout was not consistent. In all probability, special factors were at work that were cultural as well as biological. It was calculated that chance operating alone as a factor would be expected to occur in not more than 13 per cent of the cases. Consequently, the extent to which relief children may be inferior, biologically, is uncertain. On the other hand, it is evident that no sweeping generalization either pro or con is fully justifiable.

Less biased results were obtained in the comparison of about 15,000 final grades for high school courses which the relief students had taken.⁴

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GRADES OF RELIEF CHILDREN AND OF TOTAL
HIGH SCHOOL POPULATION, 1934-1939

Grades	Relief Children	Total H. S. Population
TOTAL.....	100.00%	100.00%
Above Average.....	30.33	31.00
Average.....	35.34	38.00
Below Average.....	34.33	31.00

In the light of the evidence, the achievement of the relief children was relatively in their favor. Both groups earned 9 per cent of "A" grades, but the relief children received more than their proportion of average and above average grades, in view of the difference in intelligence. It is probable that the relief children exercised more diligent application to their school tasks since they were not so well adjusted to the diversional opportunities of the school community as were non-relief children. It is also a probability that intelligence tests did not have as high an index of validity when applied to relief children as when applied to "children of the successful." This would give the relief children a secret reserve of ability that partly explains their relatively higher grade earnings; at the same time it is quite what would be expected in view of the influences of environment upon mental testing. Whatever the reason, the skewness of the curve drawn from the above data was not consistent as would be the case if biological principles alone were involved.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Chance, as a factor operative alone, could be expected in less than 10 per cent of the cases.

WHAT ARE THE CLASS ORIGINS OF RELIEF CHILDREN?

It being safe to assume that the inconsistency in the above statistical distributions was due more or less to cultural influence, a further breakdown of the data was suggested. Two year's administrative and research work in the United States Employment Service, during which time thousands of case studies were made, indicated to the writer that relief clients cannot be lumped into one big class and treated as a whole. Occupational background afforded a fairly good index to former social and economic status. The relief children were, therefore, classified according to what they remembered of their father's occupation. These responses were to the question, "What does your father do?" Thus wishful thinking was eliminated, and a picture was obtained of the child's present and actual identity with occupational status. Interestingly enough, the responses did not coincide with the United States' census classification of occupations; consequently the following table shows the natural categories into which the responses of the children fell.

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CLASS ORIGINS OF RELIEF CHILDREN IN
HIGH SCHOOL, 1934-1939.*

<i>Class</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
TOTAL.....	1040	100.00
Business and Professional.....	105	10.10
Skilled Workers.....	185	17.80
Unskilled Workers.....	288	27.70
Personal Service.....	50	4.90
Project Workers.....	152	14.50
Unemployed.....	260	25.00

*According to stated occupations of fathers.

The first significant fact noticeable in the above is that the employment levels are such as to imply very different family and cultural backgrounds. For instance, the children of professionals in each case had fathers who had been ministers of small neighborhood churches. Obviously, their cultural background was quite different from any of the others. Similarly, business culture differs from the others, and certainly, the culture of the skilled trades is significantly different from that of the unskilled, while both of these have little in common with the personal service occupations. The second significant fact is that many

children believed that "working for the government," "employed by the county," or "working on the projects," was a normal expression of their father's occupation. Twenty-five per cent of the total group merely knew their father was unemployed, and could state no definite occupation. No opportunity has been found to determine just why any particular group came to be on relief since the parents were not interviewed, but the evidence suggests that many cultural factors are present. Several cases of broken homes were concentrated in the "personal service" class. To lay the entire condition upon the economic breakdown would also be somewhat fallacious although undoubtedly economic factors were present in all the cases. A full explanation of these factors awaits further research.

Due to the fact that 41 per cent of the total number of children did not know their father's occupation beyond their being "project workers" or "unemployed," it was not possible to compare the total number in each occupational category with the census figures for 1930. Could this 41 per cent have been redistributed over the other groups to co-ordinate with the census reports, it could have been determined which social classes in the community had been most affected by the depression years. It is significant that each of the major occupational classes of the community contributed in considerable measure to the number of children on relief, and that none have escaped the ravages of modern social disorganization. In consequence, the new problem family represents the full occupational range of the community, and a shotgun approach to the many targets of child welfare and family rehabilitation is useless. If all relief children are treated alike, subnormal children of businessmen are reconditioned for hypothetical future success in business, and bright sons of unskilled workers are trained for business occupations when they have no personal or family contacts to enable them to become employed by business. Whether our society remains relatively competitive, or tends to become more stratified, it is quite clear that a strong program of vocational guidance and training should be a large part of the central core around which the high school education of children of relief clients should be built. It is vastly more important that this group be given this particular service, for personal and social reasons, than any other group, regardless of how important it may seem for others.

WHAT PARTICULAR NEEDS HAVE RELIEF CHILDREN?

The particular needs of relief children cannot be submerged beneath all-inclusive generalizations any more than their needs can be met by

the shotgun method of a general program. To determine the existence of some major needs, the mental abilities of the relief children were compared with their occupational class statuses. Such an analysis could not disclose the nature of the cultural conditioning that various individuals in each group possessed, but it could reveal the relative capacities of the various classes and the extent to which a program for rehabilitation might be effective. Furthermore, it would show the extent to which the program for rehabilitation should be based upon both cultural and mental factors. Of course, further research should be conducted on the nature of the cultural patterns as they correlate with occupational backgrounds if in preparing relief children for normal adult participation in community life further inefficiency resulting from over-competition in a highly mobile society is to be avoided.

TABLE 4
PERCENTAGE OF RELIEF CHILDREN IN HIGH SCHOOL ACCORDING TO
INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
OF FATHERS, 1934-1939

<i>Intelligence</i>	<i>Business and Professional</i>	<i>Skilled Labor</i>	<i>Unskilled Labor</i>	<i>Personal Service</i>	<i>Project Workers</i>	<i>Unemployed Unclass.</i>
TOTAL.....	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
145-above.....	none	.5%	none	none	none	none
135-145.....	2.0	2.5	none	none	none	none
125-134.....	16.0	3.0	1.25	none	.7	.4
115-124.....	26.0	18.5	11.25	2.0	7.8	2.8
105-114.....	28.0	28.0	22.50	14.0	17.8	12.0
95-104.....	20.0	27.5	23.75	28.0	32.2	34.0
85-94.....	6.0	13.5	22.50	34.0	28.6	34.0
75-84.....	2.0	5.5	11.25	20.0	10.8	14.8
74-below.....	none	1.0	2.50	2.0	2.1	2.0

The above table offers several striking facts. The range of intelligence correlates highly with the occupational status of the fathers of the relief children. In the light of most research on the subject, it is usually expected that intelligence decreases consistently from the business and professional level down to the personal service trades.⁵ However, the problem has not previously been approached from the perspective of the child on relief, and it is significant that the results are so comparable. One would also expect the range of the business group to be narrower than the others. Surely businessmen with the highest order of capacity should be able to keep off the relief rolls; and likewise, we would not expect a high percentage of businessmen with intelligence

⁵ Clark and Gist, "Occupational Choice and Intelligence," *American Sociological Review*, October, 1938.

quotients below 95. On the other hand, due to paternal influence, persons of any type of ability can be expected in the skilled trades, and they would all be dropped on relief indiscriminately when their jobs ceased to exist. In fact, any employment office could report that skilled workers were frequently so professionalized in their calling, and generally so specialized in their training that they suffered much more from the depression than did unskilled workers, jack-of-all-trades, and others. Again, one would expect that "unskilled labor" categories would come to be catch-alls into which many types of workers who could not attain the dignity of a skilled and organized occupation would fall. Consequently, this group would tend to include more persons of lower mental rating, while its brighter members would tend to enter more stable occupations. Since this group is also the largest, numerically, it accounts in large measure for the high percentage of relief children with intelligence quotients below 95. (See Table 1.)

A summary of the median intelligence quotients of six occupational groups is as follows:

Business and Professionals.....	113.7 I. Q.
Skilled workers.....	106.0
Unskilled workers.....	99.7
Personal service workers.....	93.2
Government Project workers.....	97.6
Unemployed.....	93.8

The children who had come to think of their parent's economic status in terms of relief work and direct relief (41.2 per cent of the total) ranked higher than the children of the personal service category, both in range and median. It would be mere conjecture to elaborate on this point. The cultural backgrounds of these groups as well as home and labor market conditions differ, and social selection has affected the groups so differently that they are not comparable. It is a further illustration of the fact that the children of the two groups cannot be treated fully alike, while a general program misses the needs of each. Each has needs largely related to his own social situation and cultural background.

A further question may arise as to whether needs would vary within each occupational group in accordance with the mental level. Certainly in each category, the superior children, those with intelligence quotients above 105, have different needs than those who are just within the limits of normality, 95-104. And, those who are definitely subnormal have still other needs. The following table shows the percentages of each group according to mental level:

TABLE 5
SUMMARY OF INTELLIGENCE OF RELIEF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO
OCCUPATION OF FATHERS, 1934-1939

<i>Class</i>	<i>Superior</i>	<i>Normal</i>	<i>Inferior</i>
Business and Professionals.....	72.0	20.0	8.0
Skilled Labor.....	52.5	27.5	20.0
Unskilled Labor.....	35.0	28.8	36.2
Personal Service.....	16.0	28.0	56.0
Project Workers.....	26.3	32.2	41.5
Unemployed.....	15.2	34.0	50.8

Finally, what percentage of the entire number of superior children on relief come from each occupational class? Any plan to serve the needs of the modern relief family, as well as to serve the ultimate aims of community coordination, harmony, and cooperation would need to base its approach upon these data. By combining tables 3 and 5, the following is obtained:

TABLE 6
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RELIEF CHILDREN FOUND IN
EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

<i>Class</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
TOTAL.....	360	100.0
Business and Professionals.....	73	20.3
Skilled Labor.....	97	26.9
Unskilled Labor.....	102	28.4
Personal Service.....	8	2.2
Project Workers.....	40	11.1
Unemployed.....	40	11.1

Since it is the superior people, seemingly about one-third of the relief children under study, who give leadership in personal and community affairs, and since this leadership reflects the nature of its cultural background, then the depression-made problem family presents us with a host of problems demanding community administration. Similarly, the normal group, and especially the subnormal group of relief clients have their special needs.

ARE RELIEF CHILDREN CLIMBING EDUCATIONALLY?

If all children, capable of doing so, are taking full advantage of their educational opportunities, it could be assumed that the children of the present relief families are also trying to climb the social ladder. Such is the common lesson of American history to the immigrant. If, however, capable children are not responding to educational advan-

tages, they will perpetuate the combination of poverty culture and low occupational status. An attempt to answer this question partly was made by analyzing the elective high school studies which relief children preferred. The results are:

TABLE 7
PERCENTAGE OF RELIEF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO ELECTIVE STUDIES
AND OCCUPATION OF PARENTS

<i>Studies</i>	<i>Business and Professional</i>	<i>Skilled Labor</i>	<i>Unskilled Labor</i>	<i>Domestic Service</i>	<i>Project Workers</i>	<i>Unemployed</i>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Academic.....	15.0	5.0	3.6	none	3.1	3.0
Commercial.....	18.0	16.5	5.9	9.1	4.6	2.0
Com. and Voc.....	35.0	41.5	33.1	24.2	26.9	18.5
Vocational.....	32.0	45.0	57.4	66.7	65.4	76.5

Since the community under study maintains a municipal university which may be attended at fairly low cost to the student, it might be expected that considerable numbers of the relief children would be utilizing their educational opportunities to raise their family status. The data showed, on the contrary, that the election of academic courses and college entrance courses definitely correlated to the occupational background of the parents. It seemingly takes cultural background to propel young persons along the road to college, and good mental endowment alone is not sufficient. The major conclusion to be drawn is that fuller use of the educational avenue to personal development and social adjustment might be made.

CONCLUSIONS

Among the conclusions that the above data may merit, it is desired to emphasize the following:

1. Depression-affected school children and their families constitute a definite social problem.
 - a. These children are not the usual types of under-privileged and maladjusted.
 - b. They are not of misfit and inferior stock in any abnormal or exaggerated sense.
 - c. They are predominantly innocent victims of rapid social change and its consequent disorganization.
 - d. In the light of the above, they have special needs.

2. The biological quality of these children is sufficient to justify special attention in a rehabilitation program.
 - a. Two-thirds of the stock is normal or above as compared with three-fourths of the total population.
 - b. Sixty-six percent do average work or better as compared with sixty-nine percent of the total population.
 - c. What inferiority does exist is due to social causes as well as to biological limitation.
3. The social origins vary; consequently, there is need for an elastic rehabilitation program that will consider the pre-depression family statuses and culture.
 - a. These children differ in regard to their pre-depression family background and its culture.
 - b. Their intelligence varies with the former occupational and social statuses of their families.
 - c. A general rehabilitation program that ignores class origins fails to meet the full needs of these children.
 - d. Such rehabilitation would not affect the plan of guiding any particular individual, basically, but would increase the efficacy of such a plan.
4. The educational ladder is not functioning freely enough in mitigating personal and class differences due to the cultural lag in family and occupational backgrounds.
 - a. Such backgrounds, more than mental capacity alone, affect the use of the educational ladder.
 - b. Comparison of tables 4 and 7 indicate that about two-thirds of the potential talented leadership is more or less stratified according to social origins.
 - c. Tendencies to "settle down" in terms of the depression "poverty culture" are definitely noticeable.
5. In general, the much lauded notion of "an individual conditioning for a social environment" is at best a half-truth. It is equally obvious that a coordinated environment needs to be developed in each community to meet the needs of the individual, in the light of his cultural background, and the needs of the group in a representatively coordinated community.

Notes from the Southwest

ARKANSAS

Arkansas State College—The Arkansas State Historical Society held its quarterly meeting in the Commons Building, April 22. Dr. Homer C. Huitt of the department of social science presided. The central theme was "Early Settlers in Arkansas."

Pi Gamma Mu, honorary social science fraternity, held its annual banquet here May 1. The speaker of the evening was Mr. John G. Pipkin, State Welfare Commissioner of Arkansas. The program was in charge of Dr. Holger Andersen, professor of psychology.

Dr. Homer C. Huitt is making a study of severance taxes in Arkansas.

University of Arkansas—Dr. D. Y. Thomas, professor emeritus at the University of Arkansas, and a former president of the Southwestern Social Science Association, has been appointed editor of a new quarterly of Arkansas history, which will begin publication next year. The journal will be sponsored by the Arkansas Historical Association, organized on Washington's birthday in Little Rock. President John H. Reynolds of Hendrix College is president of the association, and Dr. Fred Harrington, head of the department of history and political science at the University of Arkansas, is secretary-treasurer. Vice-presidents are Dr. Dallas T. Herndon, State Archivist; Dean T. S. Staples of Hendrix; Judge J. S. Utley and Mrs. J. F. Weinmann of Little Rock. Dr. Horace Adams of Arkansas A. and M. College, Monticello, is chairman of the membership committee. There is a director for each congressional district: Judge C. T. Carpenter of Marked Tree; President T. M. Lowry, Jr., of Arkansas College; President J. W. Fulbright of the University of Arkansas; Hugo Heinman of Little Rock; Abe Collins of De Queen; Professor Horace Adams of Arkansas A. and M. College, Monticello; Col. T. H. Barton of the Lion Oil Company, El Dorado. Many of Arkansas' colleges are cooperating in the work of the society: the University of Arkansas, Arkansas Teachers College, Henderson State Teachers College, Arkansas Polytechnic College, Arkansas A. and M. College at Monticello, Hendrix College, Ouachita College, Harding College, Little Rock Junior College, College of the Ozarks, Arkansas College.

John W. White, instructor in rural economics and sociology, has received a grant from the General Education Board to pursue further

graduate study and expects to be away during the academic year 1941-42.

The following visiting instructors attended the special in-service training school of the rural economics and sociology department this summer: Joseph Ackerman, Farm Foundation; Lee Allbaugh, Iowa State College; Mrs. Mattie Cal Maxted, University of Arkansas; Herman Haag, University of Missouri; and John G. McNeely, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The school is made possible by a grant from the General Education Board.

Dr. Virgil Cover, assistant professor of business administration, has resigned to become economic adviser to the Department of Commerce in St. Louis. He has been succeeded by Rutledge Vining, former member of the faculty of the college. Mr. Vining has been doing graduate work at the University of Chicago on a Rosenwald Fellowship, and since January 1 has been an economist with the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta.

Dean C. C. Fichtner of the College of Business Administration has been granted a year's leave of absence to work with the United States Department of Commerce in Washington. Dr. O. J. Curry has been appointed acting dean.

The doctoral dissertation of O. J. Curry, acting dean of the College of Business Administration, has just been published by the University of Michigan Bureau of Business Research. The title of the publication is: "Utilization of Corporate Profits in Prosperity and Depression."

Dr. Austin Van der Slice is the author of "International Labor, Diplomacy, and Peace," published recently by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

LOUISIANA

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute—Miss Anna Green Smith, instructor in sociology, spent the summer at George Peabody College.

Mr. George E. Pankey, associate professor of government, is studying at the University of North Carolina.

Dr. John E. McGee, professor of history, is on leave doing research on the cultural history of Great Britain.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute—George W. Lafferty, graduate assistant in accounting at the University of Texas last year, has been appointed assistant professor of accounting.

L. Edwin Smith, assistant professor of accounting, received his C.P.A. diploma in June.

K. W. Hall, associate professor of business administration, is on leave with the Intelligence Division of the Navy. He is stationed at New Orleans.

Karl E. Ashburn, head of the department of economics and business administration, spent the summer at the University of Wisconsin studying labor problems and institutional economics.

Professor Leo M. Favrot, C.P.A., has devised a new system of accounting records especially adapted to the small business enterprise.

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College—Professor O. D. Duncan has returned after a year spent at Louisiana State University.

Professor William H. Sewell taught sociology during the summer session in the University of Texas.

TEXAS

University of Texas—Carl M. Rosenquist, editor-in-chief of the *Quarterly*, will be in Louisiana State University for the academic year 1941-42.

Book Reviews

Edited by O. DOUGLAS WEEKS
The University of Texas

Van Kleffens, Eelco Nicolaas, *Juggernaut Over Holland*, The Dutch Foreign Minister's Personal Story of the Invasion of the Netherlands. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. vii, 195.)

As the title indicates, *Juggernaut Over Holland*, is an eye-witness account of the recent German invasion of Holland, written by the Dutch Foreign Minister. Although the personal point of view colors and directs the whole course of the story the author fortunately makes no defense or apology for the personal nature of the narrative. He rightly regards the importance of the incidents and the intimacy of his involvement as a justification of this approach. The book is carefully ordered and scrupulously written. The author's position in the Dutch Government gave personal access to all the documents and factual materials upon which his book is based. An atmosphere of historical authenticity pervades the whole work.

Mr. Van Kleffens book should be required reading for all those who still continue to insist that the whole course of recent events in Europe is due to the injustices of the Versailles Treaty and the efforts of the European powers, defeated in the last war, to correct these injustices. He recalls clearly and correctly that Holland took no part in the World War of 1914-1918 and no part in the treaty which terminated it. He points out that Holland scrupulously observed all the requirements of neutrality, not only during and following the first World War, but consistently continued to follow this policy until after the German invasion. During and after the war the Dutch cared for large numbers of German and Allied prisoners, they helped to feed the German people; they made large loans to Germany and took German children to live in Holland until the food situation in Germany could be relieved. Although Holland took no part in the Versailles Treaty it continued to insist that this treaty ought to be modified in Germany's favor. In short Holland was one of the few faithful champions and helpers of Germany during the post-war era when she was disgraced, disarmed and looked upon with resentment and suspicion by most of the rest of the world.

Likewise, when Nazism rose to power in Germany, Holland neither approved nor condemned. The sturdy, realistic Dutch showed no particular horror of the Nazi movement, they permitted a Dutch Nazi party without any particular restrictions so long as it did not lead to open violence. The Dutch continued to cooperate with the Nazis just as they had always done with all other German governments. Having been a "peace island" of Europe for a hundred years the Dutch never really believed the invasion would take place until it had actually begun. The Dutch regarded themselves as so completely neutral not only in

word and deed, but also in thought, that a German invasion appeared incredible to them even after the signs of such an event multiplied until they could no longer be ignored. The Dutch, however, being realistic, proposed to arm thoroughly and methodically so that the price of conquest would be so much greater than that of peaceful cooperation that all the world powers would necessarily choose peace with Holland rather than war.

The tragedy of Van Kleffen's book is that he unconsciously presents the unhappy dilemma of all small neutral nations in an era of world power-politics. Czechoslovakia, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, and for that matter, all the small states of the world face ultimately this same dilemma. What the Dutch failed to recognize was that the neutrality and independence of their country were military necessities for England just as much as conquest of the Dutch was regarded as a military necessity for the Germans. Just as Russia regarded a neutral and independent Finland as a menace to her very existence unless certain strategic points were in her hands, just as Britain regarded Holland under the control of Germany as a menace to her existence, so the Germans regarded the existence of a neutral Holland, unless certain strategic matters were under German control, as a threat to German existence. That an industrious, admirable, self-respecting country like Holland should have to go down under the impact of this struggle is certainly a tragedy, but also certainly should not have been a surprise.

The fact that the rest of the world was equally caught in this surprise does not in any way lessen the unhappy fate of Holland or the responsibility of her rulers for deciding to resist, at the moment when resistance was futile, the very monster which it had helped to nourish. Another thing the Dutch seem to have overlooked was the fact that the Nazi movement has from its inception been a revolution against the very bourgeoisie virtues and values of which the Dutch themselves were the supreme representation. Failure to recognize this, made more monstrous to the author, the failure of the Nazis to recognize virtues, whose very foundation their whole philosophy has denied. In fact some people seem still not able to recognize this. Although the book ends on a note of hopefulness for the future of small self-respecting nations, the reviewer finds it difficult to share this hope. The trampling of small nations does not yet seem to have reached its zenith and may continue for some time when the zenith has been passed. When peace has been restored, even if it is the sort of peace for which the author hopes, it seems more likely that the small states must become lesser members of some sort of European federation than that they will resume their position as small independent, neutral nations. If it is not the sort of peace the author hopes for, the present unhappy fate of these small nations is but a foretaste of their future.

The University of Arkansas.

WARD MORTON

Haydon, F. Stansbury, *Aeronautics in the Union and Confederate Armies, With a Survey of Military Aeronautics Prior to 1861*. Volume I. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941, pp. xxii, 421. Illustrations.

In this work Dr. Haydon presents the first adequate account of the use of military balloons in our Civil War, a subject which has been strangely neglected in view of the prime importance of military aeronautics today. This first volume (there is to be at least one more) extends only to March, 1862, when the Peninsula campaign was beginning, and it deals only with the balloonists of the Union army.

European armies, especially the French, had been experimenting with observation balloons since 1794, but American officers had no experience with them. Nevertheless, a few civilian enthusiasts had been active and had made considerable progress both in the construction of balloons and in knowledge of air currents. When the call for troops came, several well-known balloonists offered their services to the War Department and were accepted. Unfortunately, however, the balloon service was never incorporated into the army establishment, for though balloons and equipment were purchased for the army the balloonists themselves were merely civilians hired at so much per day, without official status and subject to the orders of army officers some of whom were entirely ignorant of the peculiar needs of this service and more interested in established routine than aiding the balloonists. Some of the higher officers were scornful of the balloons and refused to use them; but others, such as McClellan, Porter and Butler gave intelligent support to the new service, and got very satisfactory results.

For observation of the enemy's positions and movements the aeronaut, sometimes accompanied by an officer and a telegrapher, went up in a captive balloon, moored as close to the front lines as safety permitted, to a height of from 1,000 to 5,000 feet. Telegraphic communication with headquarters was maintained by a wire from the basket along the cables to the mooring position. On clear days the observer could see over a radius of many miles well enough to describe the terrain and the enemy fortifications and to detect changes of position or movements of enemy forces. Under favorable conditions the balloon offered many advantages over the ordinary cavalry patrol or reconnaissance-in-force, and an examination of the reports of these observers will convince the most skeptical of their value. On the other hand, bad weather—such as high winds, rainstorms, fogs, low clouds, winter's sleet—could make the balloon utterly useless.

The most important of the Unionist aeronauts was Theodore S. C. Lowe, who organized a "balloon corps" for service with the Army of the Potomac. Though over-ambitious, jealous of rivals and persistently ignorant of military procedure, he was energetic, inventive, resourceful and a competent observer. Though he seems to have won the confidence of McClellan and other high officers, he was frequently in trouble with the lesser ones. He and his little organization were shoved around from one service branch to another—from the topographical engineers to the quartermaster's bureau, to the engineers and finally to the signal service—and were made welcome in none. Six months after McClellan's dismissal, Lowe resigned and his "balloon corps" was disbanded.

Dr. Haydon has examined a great mass of hitherto unused materials in preparing this volume and he has made his story fresh and interesting. Adding greatly to this interest are the forty-five contemporary photographs and other illustrations at the back of the book.

The University of Texas.

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL

Estey, James Arthur, *Business Cycles: Their Nature, Cause, and Control*. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1941, pp. xvi, 544.)

This book proposes "to supply a brief, simple, but reasonably comprehensive introduction to the subject of business cycles," and is divided into three parts, one of 150 pages on the description of cyclical behavior, a second of 190 pages on the classifiable theories of economic fluctuation, and a third of 190 pages on the arguments for and experiences with control measures. The audience to which the book is directed would include undergraduates having had the principles of economics course, and preferably a money and banking course, as well; the book itself could easily serve as the central text for a one-semester course in business cycles.

The first part, on definition, description, and measurement of the cycle, draws heavily upon Mitchell's work, both in phraseology and in emphasis. The last chapter of this part ("Great Depressions") examines the variations in intensity among various cycles, tentatively accepts the hypothesis of coincidence of cycles of various lengths, but emphasizes the importance of non-cyclical factors; it is directly pointed at the explanation of the depression which began in 1930. In general, it may be said that Professor Estey is in this part far from dogmatic, and that the student will carry away an impression of the tentative character and caution of phrasing of inductive conclusions about the cycle which is closely similar to that prevailing among most recognized authorities on the subject.

The second part, on theories of the cycle, is admittedly parallel to Haberler's more ambitious discussion, but Professor Estey covers fewer authors and uses more easily understandable language. He plays no obvious favorites, but is greatly influenced by the "lack of confidence" explanation of the contraction phase of the cycle, and not only engages in some critical discussion (of monetary theories) on this basis, but also allots space in accordance with this predisposition. Thus, of 190 pages in the part, 45 are assigned to Keynes; this discussion is well handled and brought up to date with the clarifying controversy which succeeded the appearance of the *General Theory*. Other theories to which major space is allotted are those associated with the names of Hayek and Hawtrey. In a final ten pages ("Conclusions on Cycle Theory"), Professor Estey follows Mitchell in disclaiming any immediate usefulness for cycle theory; this is conservative, but it detracts from the appeal which the field might have to an undergraduate audience.

The third and last part of the book, entitled "Stabilization," is the most original and departs the most from conventional business cycle treatment. Although there are some 60 pages on monetary management (including, through what seems an error of judgment, a considerable section on the compensated dollar), most of the space is given to public works, unemployment insurance

and strict consumers' credits, and the considerations evoked by what is accepted as secularly increasing rigidity of wages and industrial prices. In each of these sections is a clear statement of recent well-known work in the various fields, and the element of originality is introduced by the adaptation of the wage and price conclusions to the problem of the entire cycle, rather than to what Professor Estey calls the "crisis-depression" phases. In this connection it may be remarked that the whole book is very consistent in its reference to the complete cycle; this is surprising only because of the recent concern by many writers with exclusively the depression portion. Probably owing to the arrangement of the book (which, however, is quite logical), the impression is engendered that this retention of the cycle concept became for the author increasingly more difficult. The range of questions as to the effect on the continuance of cycles of the types described of some of the structural changes suggested is really not faced in the book; this certainly is not a fault, uniquely, of Professor Estey's treatment, but is a hazard encountered by anyone attempting so to continue conventional schematae.

Harvard University.

SETH HAMMOND

Debo, Angie. *And Still the Waters Run*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940, pp. x, 417.)

In the many books about Indians little is to be found concerning the red man in transition. Dr. Debo's study, therefore, meets a distinct need; it is the logical sequel to her scholarly *Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*, which appeared in 1934.

During the nineteenth century the Five Civilized Tribes had laid in Indian Territory the foundations of a unique civilization. Then white men came into their country and soon began to urge that its lands be divided up so that each Indian family should have its homestead and the remainder of the reservations be placed on the market. The Indians resisted this movement by every means short of violence, but the forces calling for the new order were too strong for them. In vain did their leaders explain that under common tenure each Indian felt that he owned the entire reservation, but that after the lands were divided he would take little interest in the paltry acreage allotted him. Sentiment from the outside joined strength with the people within the reservations in advocating allotment in severalty. Each Indian was to have his own farm; that was the white man's road and the Indian must travel it. The Curtis Act of 1898, therefore, ended tribal tenure, and allotments of lands followed under the various agreements which the tribes were compelled to make.

This program, says the author, brought "an orgy of plunder and exploitation probably unparalleled in American History." The Indian schools were badly managed; tribal funds were dissipated; and the people could not secure an accounting from the government at Washington. By hook or crook much of the best Indian lands soon passed into the hands of white people. Although the full-blood Indians were not permitted to sell their homesteads, surplus lands allotted to the various classes of Indians soon became alienable under the laws and the rules of the Indian office. An act of 1908 made twelve million acres

subject to sale, and the speculators enjoyed a series of field days. Timber was stolen from the Indian lands; lessors failed to pay for leases; lands were exploited without the assent of their owners; mining companies neglected to pay royalties; and grafters made every sort of unconscionable contracts. The role of professional guardians was especially sordid, and Oklahoma's probate laws gave the Indian little protection. It became customary for an Indian to pay from five to ten times as much for the services of his guardian as white people paid. Not infrequently the "poor rich Indians" had to hire expensive lawyers to get rid of guardians.

Under this system the condition of the Indians has grown steadily worse. A limited investigation in 1928 indicated that "an overwhelming majority" of the Indians who had been declared competent, and were thus permitted to dispose of their lands, were destitute and were living with relatives who still retained their allotments. Excepting a negligible number of Indians made rich by oil, even the people who had retained their lands were miserably poor.

After this colossal failure that spanned more than a third of a century, Congress in 1936 passed an act calculated to destroy the opportunity for local exploitation of Indian property and to enable the Indians who wished to do so to return to a system of communal land tenure. Already there has been some response to the law: two Creek "towns" have been created and there are twenty or more credit associations. The author thinks it barely possible that under this system the lost fullbloods of the hills may yet be saved from the degradation that has overwhelmed so many of their kinsmen.

Dr. Debo's book is the product of research both broad and intensive. She does little arguing and pleading; her facts unfold her story in convincing fashion. She could have produced a more readable book if she had simplified to a greater extent parts of her account; but its usefulness to the student might have been impaired. It comes as near being definitive as anything this reviewer has read on recent Indian history.

The University of Texas.

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON

Wirth, Louis (Ed.), *Eleven Twenty Six: A Decade of Social Science Research*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940, pp. 498.)

The mystic numbers in the title are not a gridiron signal but the address on Fifty-Ninth Street, Chicago, where the Social Science Committee has been magnificently housed for slightly over ten years. The book consists of papers and discussions held at a series of meeting in Chicago on December 1 and 2, 1939, to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the dedication of the building, as well as a full bibliography of those associated with the undertaking.

The general impression which the book makes on one is inevitably that of confusion. Since before the Great War social science has been in travail to produce something analogous to the achievements of the natural sciences. It cannot be said that the results are impressive. It may be that those engaged in this research are drawn from too widely separated fields and that they have had widely divergent types of training. It is scarcely to be wondered at that in neither methods nor results does there seem to be a common pattern. It is to be

admitted that where so many brilliant minds are associated, a vast amount of material has been assembled and that instructive and suggestive paths have been struck out by the investigators. But there seems to be an almost infinite variety in the approaches and the methods used in solving problems. The methods involved range from the changes on old-fashioned observation of individual instances, generalization based on observation, higher mathematics, statistics, questionnaires. One gets a feeling of bewilderment at the effort to combine such disparate elements into something like a unified whole, and that the very purpose of the experiment, the cross-fertilization of the various social sciences is not to be attained in this way.

The hope that the social sciences might justify themselves as "sciences" to the public by demonstrating their ability, on the basis of discovered laws, to predict the future, is somewhat ruefully dismissed by one of the speakers in a paragraph that is not without its humor.—

Perhaps the best illustration of our incapacity to predict is the story that came out of the annual meeting of the American Statistical Association in Washington, at the end of December in 1929. At a luncheon the people were told by the most optimistic prophet that the crisis was already over, that it was nothing but a crash in the stock market anyhow, and that it would take the public another month to realize that it was over but that the experts already knew it. The most pessimistic prophet present said, "No, you mark my words, the stock market crash has many ramifications and this thing will not be over until Labor Day." None of the forecasting economists has had a very good record. They get by for a while, but presently some new situation arises that floors them completely. The difficulty is in attempting to do something that we are not equipped to do—something that the public insists the economist shall attempt.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the prevailing opinion is that the necessary mark of anything that claims to be a science is ability to predict. None of the social sciences has so far shown that it can do so, and it does not seem that such will be likely in the near future. Does this mean that such disciplines have no positive value? It is not the function of the human mind to work as a human calculating machine. Surely it is the part of wisdom to seek to understand the unfolding of human events without attempting to dogmatize about them on the basis of past experience. Thucydides once remarked that "war does not go according to calculation"; it seems that he might have extended it to cover all human affairs. In such a world prescience must at times fail the wisest, and about all that we can do is to revise our theories in view of the changed situation and adjust ourselves to it.

University of Oklahoma.

S. R. TOMPKINS

Rood, Royal D., *Matrimonial Shoals*. (Detroit: Detroit Law Book Company, 1939, pp. 424)

Matrimonial Shoals is a comprehensive study presenting from a lawyer's slant the causes and results of modern divorce. The author stresses what he calls "the

silent rebellion" of men against marriage, which he contends is largely a result of the injustices growing out of alimony laws.

Mr. Rood's book is based upon a survey of divorce laws and the administration of these laws in Wayne County, Michigan. This study of the rise of metropolitan divorce largely repudiates the generally accepted causes, and seeks to point out the fundamental and not so obvious causes, as the author sees them.

Mr. Rood attempts to show that there is a very real rebellion among men toward marriage. The causes he attempts to define and to discuss. He points out that men are not opposed to the institution of marriage itself, nor antagonistic to women, but that they are opposing, consciously or unconsciously, a contract in which they feel that both the law (as interpreted in divorce and alimony laws) and women, are working against them.

Among other conclusions of the author are these: That women often exploit children to get more alimony, and that the existing laws sanction this exploitation. That separate maintenance is a device for getting something for nothing, and should be abolished. That "separating a child from obedience to the person who maintains it is one of the great sins of the day." The author further makes the point, not once but a number of times, that social workers needing jobs, and lawyers after a fee, do more to disrupt the family and destroy marriage than they do to adjust marital difficulties.

Rood says further: "If wives and children are to be re-established in the security which has been destroyed, the faith of prospective husbands in the fairness of the courts must be re-established, constitutional principles must be respected, and the disharmony of the law with the natural and fundamental principles of marriage must be corrected. Services and support must be mutual, not one-sided."

The author suggests, and backs his suggestion with proposed methods of accomplishing it, that divorce be made not more difficult but less desirable, thus allaying the rebellion and re-establishing family benefits.

To illustrate his conclusions, the author devotes the last half of his book to a complete legal case history of the marital difficulties of one George Lupu. Briefly, George Lupu was imprisoned for non-payment of alimony and his second wife and children forced upon charity because of the vindictiveness of his first wife who had also re-married. And the question presents itself: "Should the children of a first marriage be used as an instrument of profit at the expense of children of a later marriage?"

The author pursues multiple by-paths in presenting his thesis. He has developed a timely and obviously important subject, but one feels upon laying aside the book a confusion of ideas rather than a clear statement of the thesis. The value of the book is marred by an involved style and a too casual organization. But, despite these defects, the reader gets a vivid impression of the injustices of the divorce courts and the vast harm being done to the American family.

University of Oklahoma.

WYATT MARRS

Arnold, Oren, and Hale, John P., *Hot Irons*. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1940, pp. 242.)

Hot Irons is a book about cattle brands. The attempt to trace branding back to its origins results in generalities, probably because concrete information on the subject is lacking; however, research should be able to produce something definite concerning the brands used by Cortez and other conquistadores. The strength of the book lies, not in remote history, but in a revelation of the significances of brands as they have been used in America during comparatively recent times.

After a chapter on what might be called the grammar of brands and another on the principles of interpretation—with examples as numerous as irregular verbs in the Spanish language—the authors take up the branding iron itself and consider the many substitutes—none successful—that have been attempted in place of burning. One of the best chapters, "The Rewrite Man," deals with the ways thieves have "blotted" and "burned out" brands, changing the original character into something else. On fenced ranches the brand is still the sign and legal proof of ownership and the dependence of mortgages; it is not so large and complicated as it once was and cow thieves nowadays are likely to pick up calves and truck them to the butcher's block rather than burn the brands out and hold them in another pasture. The language of E. H. Witherell in advertising his Circle Cross and other brands can still be plainly understood: "A liberal reward will be paid for the return of any strays to my ranch. I also wish it understood that no monkeying with my stock will be tolerated, and any person who seeks, off of my herd, to illegitimately increase his own will have the hot soup of justice everlastingly pumped into him."

The book is replete with anecdotes illuminating not only the subject of brands but the character of range men. It would be richer if the authors had cited the fairly extensive literature on brands from which they draw information and which might be read for additional information. Some few statements are loose as to facts. But here is a useful work, written in readable style.

The University of Texas.

J. FRANK DOBIE

Glen Lawhon Parker: *The Coal Industry, a Study in Social Control*. Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1940, pp. 197, iii.

For twenty years the coal industry has been ailing. It became overexpanded at the time of the World War, and has never since been able to adapt itself to the market efficiently. Moreover, that market has been shrinking, partly because of the more efficient exploitation of fuel, partly because of the competition of other sources of energy. According to Dr. Parker the industry has operated satisfactorily for neither the operators, the consumers, nor the workers.

The consumer has suffered least because cutthroat competition has kept prices down, but wasteful mining will inevitably mean increased costs in the future. The operator has had to get along on an extremely small return, and at times to sustain deficits. As for the workers, during much of the past twenty years their wages were disgracefully low, they were able to work only a fraction of the time, and the accident rate was fearfully high.

So badly did *laissez faire* work that even the industry had to seek some measure of government aid and submit to a certain degree of regulation. It is this development that the author traces. During the 1920's the movement did not get beyond periodical investigation by the government, followed by recommendations and proposals which were not adopted. The first step in the direction of control was the coal code under the NRA. Following the demise of that experiment, the first Guffey Act was passed, under which labor was guaranteed the right of organization and the protection of working standards, whereas the industry was given the advantage of fixed minimum prices. When the first Guffey Act was declared unconstitutional on the basis of its labor provisions, the price-fixing provisions were salvaged and re-enacted in a second Guffey Act which was upheld by the Supreme Court only last year.

Dr. Parker gives us a very keen and critical analysis of the industry. He punctures several commonly-held misconceptions as to the industry—for instance, our comfortable complacency as to the inexhaustibility of coal resources. We have vast supplies, of course, but we are skimming the cream now, and the remaining coal will be harder to get at, costlier, and of poorer quality. Also, although we think of the coal industry as competitive to the point of anarchy, Dr. Parker says there is a noticeable trend toward integration.

The author is convinced that government control is no mere temporary expedient, but that it will become permanent and increase in scope. The ideal solution, according to the author, would be government ownership and operation, but since that is not politically feasible in the United States, he favors government purchase of the immediately exploitable reserves, and the leasing of such lands to private interests for exploitation under government supervision and control.

University of Oklahoma

J. H. LEEK

McHenry, Dean E., *His Majesty's Opposition; Structure and Problems of the British Labour Party, 1931-1938*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940, pp. xii, 320.)

This is a thorough and comprehensive account of the extremely complicated internal organization of the British Labor Party together with some discussion of the history of that party and particularly its cleavages on matters of policy and tactics in the period since it last held cabinet office. The author displays a first-hand acquaintance with the movement and as a study of the practice and problems of party organization the work deserves high rank. Questions of policy and tactics are presented with less depth and thoroughness, though one may be grateful for the convenient summary which the book provides of the political history of the Labor Party in the period indicated in the title.

Dr. McHenry shows clearly how the present structure of the British Labor Party tends to separate authority from responsibility. Thus, in spite of the preponderant role in day to day political activities of the Parliamentary Party and the constituency parties, it appears that the trade unions through their direct control of the campaign expenditures of candidates endorsed by them and through their preponderant voting strength in the party conference and

other policy-forming bodies still possess the final say in the determination of party policy. The author strongly recommends the reorganization of the party wholly on a constituency basis with the trade unions and other organizations now directly affiliated with the national party participating only through the individual membership of their members in the regular constituency parties.

In the matter of the channels through which British voters receive their political ideas this study goes considerably beyond a mere treatment of the Labor Party as such and deals thoroughly with the organization and status of the British leftist daily and periodical press, giving a fairly thorough picture of the extent of circulation of the various organs of information and opinion which contribute to a popular opinion favorable to the Labor Party as compared with the more orthodox organs of conservative opinion. In the related field of the relative financial resources directly or indirectly at the disposal of the Labor Party there is also a comprehensive accumulation of the available data.

The University of Texas.

G. LOWELL FIELD

Gabriel, Ralph Henry, *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee, and His America*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941, pp. xvii, 190.)

In writing this very readable book of a full-blood Cherokee who became a missionary to his own people, Professor Gabriel has produced a charming study of the blending of the Anglo-American and the Indian cultures. The book is more valuable for the light it throws on the attitudes of the descendants of the "saints of New England" toward the Indian than as a biography in the modern meaning.

Possibly that is because Professor Gabriel is interested essentially in the history and development of American thought. The book suffers somewhat in the early chapters because too much attention and space has been given to background. There are times when the reader may justifiably accuse the author of padding, but the beauty of the writing blunts the point of that criticism.

The handling of the interracial marriage of young Elias Boudinot and Harriet Gold is well done, but a great deal more attention might have been given to the life of the New England girl after she took up her abode with the Cherokees. Of course, it should be born in mind that the possible sources for information on the life of the Cherokees is quite limited.

The reader is spared another account of the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia to the Indian Territory, with its many disagreeable details. The life of Boudinot is the tragic story of a man who believed that his people would suffer from continual contact with the Anglo-Americans. With the cooperation of Samuel Austin Worcester, Boudinot published the *Cherokee Phoenix* in the language devised by Sequoyah. As the editor of the *Phoenix*, Boudinot became a leader in the tribe. He was convinced that the Cherokees should move to the Indian Territory and perpetuate their traditional customs. In that way the young missionary became involved in the bitter factional dispute that cost the lives of several important Cherokees, including his own. It is likely that descendants of the two groups again, as a result of Professor Gabriel's statements, will argue about the complicity of Chief John Ross in the killings.

Elias Boudinot, Cherokee, and His America really has only minor shortcomings, and is quite worth reading for the tragic and wholly human story that it contains.

Northeastern (Okla.) State College

GERALD FORBES

Bloom, Solomon F., *The World of Nations: A Study of the National Implications in the Work of Karl Marx*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. 225.)

Professor Bloom's book is an attempt by an American scholar to deal with the problem of the interrelation of early Marxian theory and the developing European nationalism of the Nineteenth Century. This subject is one of profound interest since socialism as an international movement has been compelled throughout its history to battle with nationalism, and as a result of that conflict has itself undergone modifications which are often significant.

The work analyzes in terms of Marx's basic economic thesis his conception of the historic role of the established nations such as England, France, and Germany as well as his attitude toward the national democratic movements in Poland. The method used is a running commentary based on the writings and correspondence of Karl Marx in so far as these relate to national or political questions. The result of the study is that one gathers the impression that Marx never really understood the force of the nationalist movement as a cultural phenomenon, although he did develop some fairly well defined ideas as to the nature of nationalism and nation-states as manifestations of economic forces. The author is inclined throughout to defend the orthodox interpretations of Marx's theories and concludes that Marx himself was in no sense a modern nationalist, although he "redefined national concepts in socialist terms."

The book tends to be rather sketchy and the omission of any extensive consideration of the writings of Frederick Engels, whose views in this connection seem to this reviewer to be inseparable from those of Marx, is a regrettable one. The work seems also to lack a certain amount of direction, and fails to formulate any definite conclusion or summary on the problem as a whole. It is, however, the only convenient book in English in the field and for this reason fills an important area in the literature on socialism and nationalism, previously the almost exclusive preserve of European scholars and writers.

The University of Texas

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

Christensen, A. N. and Kirkpatrick, E. M., *The People, Politics, and the Politician: Readings in American Government*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1941, pp. x, 1001.)

This is a collection of one hundred and twenty articles by ninety-seven contributors for use as supplementary reading in elementary classes in Political Science and American Government. In this compilation of contemporary readings, Messrs. Christensen and Kirkpatrick have brought together articles and excerpts from an outstanding list of modern writings touching on practically every topic discussed in basic courses in American Government and Politics.

These selections have the advantage of presenting the material in a manner understandable and provocative to the student in a beginning course in government. No attempt is made to include documentary material, the significance of which is often lost to the uninitiated student of politics.

The authors have succeeded in arranging the material so that it can be used in connection with almost any of the more commonly used textbooks. After two introductory articles on "Critical Thinking, Politics and the Politician," sections follow on Constitutions and how they are changed, the separation of powers, chapters on the geographical distribution of powers and intergovernmental problems; then civil liberties, suffrage, public opinion and propaganda, parties and elections. These make up about one-third of the book and are followed by one hundred pages on legislation, another one hundred on the executive, administration and personnel, and eighty-five on the courts and judicial review. The remaining articles pertain to the expanding work of government and more specific functions of government such as finance, foreign policy, law enforcement, money and banking, government and business, government and labor, social security, education, housing and health, agriculture, conservation and planning. The individual selections vary from two to twenty-four pages in length, most of them being about eight pages long. Each of the thirty-four chapters has a short introductory statement to give the whole continuity.

Inevitably, as with any collection of readings, various instructors will wish that more had been included here, and less there, but as a whole the selections chosen should prove useful in most beginning courses in political science. The collectors seem to try to call important problems of government to the student's attention, and in doing so to tell in an interesting way how government operates in practice.

The University of Texas

DELANVAN EVANS

Douglas, Henry Kyd, *I Rode With Stonewall: The War Experiences of the Youngest Member of Jackson's Staff*. Biographical Sketch and Notes by Fletcher M. Green. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940, pp. xi, 401.)

The title indicates the general nature of the book. The author enjoyed a rare opportunity and he sensed this at the time. He realized he was helping make history and he has given us an unusual book in many respects. It is unusual in that it is based on the notes and diary kept during the stirring times of war by a mere youth. Not many youths would have recorded their thoughts and information when scenes were changing so rapidly, and each fleeting moment presented new experiences. The youthful warrior, Henry Kyd Douglas, shortly after the close of the war compiled his manuscript, and then waited for more than three decades to pass before revising it. The revision no doubt polished the style and language, but it detracted from the content, and on the whole the loss was greater than the gain. Most readers will regret that the manuscript was revised, because the real thoughts and feelings of the youth are obscured somewhat. How much change the maturity of years altered the original is not known.

Mr. Douglas has given us a readable and interesting book. The style is vivid, the characters are made to live again, and the narrative flows along freely without causing the reader to labor over too many details. The author was an observing and discerning youth possessed of rare judgment. The reader is made to feel that the characters are before him so unusual is the word painting.

Writers with less ability might have attempted to include more technical details and thereby bewildered the reader. This reviewer believes the details are well balanced and the proper viewpoint maintained. Dogmatic statements are rare, nevertheless some of the implications and insinuations might be questioned. But the book as a whole is so well done that it would be trivial to find fault. It is a contribution and deserves readers.

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute

GARNIE WILLIAM MCGINTY

Book Notes

Catastrophic changes in political organization on the European continent accompanying and preceding the present war, as well as the less drastic instability of the 18th and 19th centuries, are frequently contrasted with a stability and slow development thought to be characteristically English. D. L. Keir's *The Constitutional History of Modern Britain, 1485-1937*, (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1938, pp. vi, 568) brings out the drastic changes in two centuries of English constitutional history, which involved a political tension as great as anything the recent politics of continental Europe can offer. English speaking students of politics, frequently tending unconsciously to equate the study of the workings of the "constitutional" state with the field of political science, will profit from the study of such an account as is contained in this book of the 16th and 17th centuries when English political cleavages like those of other lands in more modern periods cut deeply enough to involve the question of régime.

It is not, however, intended to suggest that the merit of this book is confined to its treatment of the first two of the four centuries and a half which it undertakes to cover. On the whole, the main political line-ups and organizational developments throughout the period covered are admirably brought out and well told. For purposes of general reference, as well as the requirements of a text in the field of English constitutional history, the book fills the need for a work of medium inclusiveness, lying between the many brief summaries and the more exhaustive treatments of particular periods.

G. L. F.

Extremely useful as a collection of data regarding election results and political developments in Europe, previously nowhere conveniently available, is Everett Miller Claspy's *European Section of Atlas and Parliamentary Government* (privately printed, Dowagiac, Michigan, 1940, pp. 60), consisting mainly of a series of charts depicting the distribution of parliamentary seats among political parties. The names of titular executives and prime ministers are entered chronologically and the political groups supporting the latter are indicated. The time covered by the charts varies considerably but developments are generally traced to 1939 in those countries then still using parliamentary institutions. For the period since 1919 the coverage is practically complete for European countries employing the cabinet system. (Switzerland is also included.) Unfortunately the cabinet system. (Switzerland is also included.) Unfortunately the physical form of this pamphlet leaves much to be desired. Although the charts are planned to show political tendencies by colored blocs, the filling in of the coloring, except for sample pages, is left to the purchaser and some of the charts are difficult to read where party designations have not been carried down through successive parliaments. Abbreviations used in the charts for party designations are usually not explained and presume considerable knowledge on the part of the reader.

More adequate proof-reading and more careful erasures before the photo-offset process would have improved the physical appearance. G. L. F.

There can be no reasonable objection to the attempts of any group, economic, political, or religious, to further its interest by straightforward argument. When, however, the argument (*Sociology* by Willigan and O'Connor, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1940, pp. xi, 387) is made to look like something else, it becomes what is usually known as propaganda and quite properly merits the suspicion of the reader. The book here under scrutiny consists of a mixture of social theory, description of social and economic conditions, condemnation of certain practices, references to selected social problems, all underlaid with the precepts and doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, and named sociology. The presentation possesses some sociological features, but it is not sociology as the term is commonly understood by students in the field. The statement is made in the preface that the authors "are convinced that sociology must not be divorced from theology." The reviewer on his side is convinced that unless sociology is divorced from theology it can never become a scientific study. In this respect sociology is in exactly the same position as geology or biology.

C. M. R.

As a source for the formal changes in the structure of the French state incident to the establishment of the Pétain dictatorship students of comparative government will find useful *The French Counter-Revolution of 1940, The Pétain Government and the Vichy Régime* by R. K. Gooch, published by the Macmillan Company as a supplement to the section on France in their *Governments of Continental Europe*. The constitutional law vesting full power in the Pétain cabinet and the subsequent decrees establishing the dictatorship in July 1940 are set forth in full. A chronology of the closing events of the third republic and a statement of the aims of the Pétain government are also included.

G. L. F.

Inventory of Federal Archives in the States, No. 42, Texas, in nine parts. This is a comprehensive inventory made by the Texas Historical Records Survey under WPA. It gives information concerning the Federal archives with respect to informational content, inclusive dates, system of filing or indexing, physical form and condition of the records, location, and the like.

S. A. M.

Inventory of the County Archives of Texas, a volume for each county, prepared by the Texas Historical Records Survey of the WPA, attempts to do more than merely list records. It sketches in the historical background of the county or other unit of government and describes the organization and functions of the government agencies whose records are listed. The local inventories, when completed, will be an encyclopedia of local government as well as a bibliography of local archives.

S. A. M.

Index to Probate Cases Filed in Texas, in separate volumes by counties, prepared by the Texas Statewide Records Project of the WPA is, as the title indi-

cates, an index to probate cases filed in the various counties of Texas and is intended to meet the need of everyday usage by the officials of the county, business men, attorneys, and other citizens who may have occasion to consult probate case records in the proper conduct of their affairs. This publication may also be found useful by historians and genealogists for obtaining references to unpublished source material.

S. A. M.